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HAKLUYT'S VOYAGES  
VOLUME THREE









Francis Drake

From "Portraits of Illustrious Personages of  
Great Britain," by Edmund Lodge



THE PRINCIPAL  
**NAVIGATIONS VOYAGES**  
**TRAFFIQUES & DISCOVERIES**  
OF THE ENGLISH NATION

MADE BY SEA OR OVERLAND TO THE REMOTE  
AND FARTHEST DISTANT QUARTERS OF THE  
EARTH AT ANY TIME WITHIN THE COMPASS  
OF THESE 1600 YEARS · BY RICHARD HAKLUYT

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY JOHN MASEFIELD  
FULLY ILLUSTRATED WITH SIXTY-FOUR DRAWINGS BY  
THOMAS DERRICK · & MANY REPRODUCTIONS FROM CON-  
TEMPORARY PORTRAITS, ENGRAVINGS, Etc. · IN 8 VOLS.



VOLUME THREE

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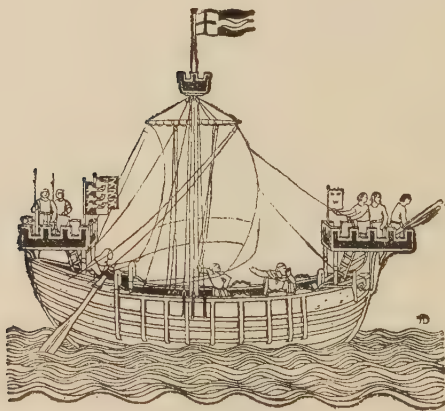




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## THE PRINCIPALL NAVIGATIONS OF THE ENGLISH NATION

An ambassage from Don Ferdinando, brother to the emperor Charles the 5. unto king Henry the 8. in the yere 1527. desiring his aide against Solymán the great Turke. Holinshed. pag. 894.

ON the 14. day of March, 1527. were conveied from London to Greenwich by the earle of Rutland and others, the lord Gabriel de Salamanca, earle of Ottonburge, John Burgrave of Sylverberge, and John Faber a famous clerke, after bishop of Vien, as ambassadours from Don Ferdinando, brother to Charles the emperor, newly elect king of Hungarie and Beame, after the death of his brother in law king Lewes, which was slaine by Solymán the Turke the last Sommer. This company was wel-commended of the high officers, and after brought into the kings presence, all the nobilitie being present; and there after great reverence made, M. Faber made a notable oration, taking his ground out of the Gospell, *Exiit seminator seminare semen suum*: and of that hee declared how Christ and his disciples went foorth to sowe, and how their seed was good that fel into the good ground, and brought foorth good fruite, which was the Christian faith. And then he declared how contrary to that sowing, Mahomet had sowed seed, which brought foorth evill fruit. He also shewed from the beginning, how the Turkes have increased in power, what realmes they had conquered, what people they had subdued even to that day. He declared further what actes the great Turke then living had done; and in especiall, he noted the getting of Belgrade and of the Rhodes, and the slaying of the king of Hungarie, to the great rebuke (as he sayd)

of all the kings christened. Hee set foorth also what power the Turke had, what diversities of companies, what capitaines he had, so that he thought, that without a marveilous great number of people, hee could not be overthrowen. Wherefore he most humbly besought the king as S. Georges knight, and defender of the faith, to assist the king his master in that godly warre and vertuous purpose.

To this oration the king by the mouth of Sir Thomas Moore answered; that much hee lamented the losse that happened in Hungarie, and if it were not for the warres which were betweene the two great princes, he thought that the Turke would not have enterprised that acte: wherefore he with all his studie would take paine, first, to set an unitie and peace throughout all Christendome, and after that, both with money and men he would be readie to helpe toward that glorious warre, as much as any other prince in Christendome. After this done, the ambassadours were well cherished, and divers times resorted to the court, and had great cheere and good rewards, and so the third day of May next following, they tooke their leave & departed homeward.

#### The antiquitie of the trade with English ships into the Levant.

IN the yeeres of our Lord, 1511. 1512. &c. till the yeere 1534. divers tall ships of London, namely, The Christopher Campion, wherein was Factor one Roger Whitcome; the Mary George, wherein was Factor William Gresham; the great Mary Grace, the Owner whereof, was William Gunson, and the master one John Hely; the Trinitie Fitz-williams, whereof was master Laurence Arkey; the Mathew of London, whereof was master William Capling, with certaine other ships of Southampton and Bristow, had an ordinarie and usuall trade to Sicilia, Candie, Chio, and somewhiles to Cyprus, as also to Tripolis and Barutti in Syria. The commodities which they caried thither were fine Kersies of divers colours, course Kersies, white Westernne dozens, Cottons; certaine clothes called Statutes, and others called Cardinal-whites, and Calveskins which were well sold in Sicilie, &c. The commodities which they returned backe were Silks, Chamlets, Rubarbe, Malmesies, Muskadels and other wines, sweete oyles, cotten





A TURK

*By Genile Bellini, from the Print Room  
of the British Museum*



wooll, Turkie carpets, Galles, Pepper, Cinamom, and some other spices, &c. Besides, the naturall inhabitants of the foresayd places, they had, even in those dayes, traffique with Jewes, Turkes, and other forreiners. Neither did our merchants onely employ their owne English shipping before mentioned, but sundry strangers also: as namely, Candiots, Raguseans, Sicilians, Genouezes, Venetian galliasses, Spanish and Portugale ships. All which particulars doe most evidently appeare out of certaine auncient Ligier bookes of the R. W. Sir William Locke Mercer of London, of Sir William Bowyer Alderman of London, of master John Gresham, and of others; which I Richard Hakluyt have diligently perused and copied out. And here for authorities sake I doe annexe, as a thing not impertinent to this purpose, a letter of king Henry the eight, unto Don John the third, king of Portugale.

A letter of the king of England Henry the eight, to John king of Portugale, for a Portingale ship with the goods of John Gresham and Wil. Locke with others, unladen in Portugale from Chio.

To the high and mighty prince, John by the grace of God, king of Portugale, and of Algarve on this side and beyond the sea in Africa, lord of Ghinea, and of the conquest, navigation, and traffique of Æthiopia, Arabia, Persia, India, &c. our most deere and welbeloved brother.

Henry by the grace of God, king of England and of France, defender of the faith, and lord of Ireland: to John by the same grace, king of Portugale and Algarve, on this side and beyond the sea in Africa, and lord of Ghinea, and of the conquest, navigation, and traffique of Aethiopia, Arabia, Persia, India, &c. our most deare and welbeloved brother, sendeth greeting. So much ye more willingly and readily we undertake the recommending of all just causes unto your highnesse, because by the daily testimonie of our subjects which traffike in your kingdoms and dominions, we are informed, that according to the dutie of a most worthy prince, so carefully and exactly you minister justice unto every man, that all men most willingly repaire unto your liighnesse, with full trust to obtaine the same. Whereas therefore our welbeloved and trustie subject John Gresham merchant of London,

of late in humble maner hath signified unto us, that one William Heith his Factor and Agent, certaine moneths agoe had hired in Candie a certaine Portugale ship called Santo Antonio, (the patrone whereof is Diego Perez) and covenanted with the patrone of the sayd ship, that he should first saile to the Isle of Sio, to take in merchandize of sundry sortes, & then eftsoones returne to Candie, to be freighted with other goods, all which he was to bring into our kingdome of England, to the value of 12000 ducats, as by their billes of covenant & agreement more plainly appeareth: it so fel out, that ye aforesaid Diego your highnes subject having received the said goods, very trecherously & much contrary to his covenant, to the exceeding great losse of our subjects, putting in by the way into an haven of Portugale, & altering his purpose of comming into England, he remaineth still in that haven, & likewise detaineth our subjects goods. Which injury (seeing it is done in your Highnes kingdome) we hope your Highnes will see reformed according to equity & right, the rather at our request, which alwayes have had a speciall care of the causes & goods of your Highnes, & of your subjects whensoever they come into our kingdome, wherof we made prooffe the last yeere. Wherefore we instantly request your Highnes, y<sup>t</sup> you would so receive John Ratcliffe the bearer of these present letters, & the new appointed agent of John Gresham, which cummeth into your dominions about this business, being thus commended unto you in this busines, & recovering & freely bringing home of the said goods, & in remitting of the customs, unlesse they were sold there (the like whereof we did towards your subjects) seeing by the fraud & deceit of the patron of the ship, the wares were brought thither, & finally in dispatching ye whole matter, according to justice, & so further the same by directing your highnes letters to your officers whom it may concerne, that we may perceive, that our subjects right and liberty hath especially beene maintained upon this our commendation. Which we will take in most thankfull part, and your highnes shal find us in the like or a greater matter most ready to gratifie you, whom we wish most heartily well to fare. From our Court at Waltham the 15. of October 1531.

A voyage made with the shippes called the Holy Crosse, and the Mathew Gonson, to the Iles of Candia and Chio, about the yeere 1534, according to a relation made to Master Richard Hackluit, by John Williamson, Cooper and citizen of London, who lived in the yere 1592, and went as cooper in the Mathew Gonson the next voyage after.

THE shippes called the Holy Crosse, and the Mathew Gonson, made a voyage to the Ilandes of Candia and Chio in Turkie, about the yeere 1534. And in the Mathew went as Captaine M. Richard Gonson, sonne of old Master William Gonson, paymaster of the kings navie. In this first voyage went William Holstocke (who afterwards was Controuller of her Majesties Navie, lately deceased) as page to M. Richard Gonson aforesaid, which M. Gonson died in Chio in this his first voyage. The ship called the Holy Crosse was a short shippe, and of burden 160 tunnes. And having beene a full yeere at the sea in performance of this voyage, with great danger she returned home, where, upon her arrivall at Blackwall, in the river of Thames, her wine and oyle caske was found so weake, that they were not able to hoysse them out of the ship, but were constrayned to draw them as they lay, and put their wine and oyle into new vessels, and so to unlade the shippe. Their chiefe freight, was very excellent Muscatels and red Malmesie, the like whereof were seeldome seene before in England. They brought home also good quantitie of sweete oyles, cotton woolles, Turkie Carpets, Galles, Cynamon, and some other spices. The saide shippe called the Holy Crosse was so shaken in this voyage, and so weakened, that she was layd up in the docke, and never made voyage after.

Another voyage to the Iles of Candia and Chio made by the shippe the Mathew Gonson, about the yeere 1535, according to the relation of John Williamson, then Cooper in the same ship, made to M. Richard Hackluit in the yeere 1592.

THE good shippe called the Mathew Gonson, of burden 300 tunnes, whereof was owner old M. William Gonson, paymaster of the kings Navie, made her voyage in the yere 1535. In this ship went as Captaine Richard Gray,



who long after died in Russia. Master William Holstocke afterward Controuller of the Queenes Navie went then as purser in the same voyage. The Master was one John Pichet, servant to old M. William Gonson, James Rumnie was Masters mate. The master cooper was John Williamson citizen of London, living in the yeere 1592, and dwelling in Sant Dunstons parish in the East. The M. Gunner was John Godfrey of Bristoll. In this ship were 6 gunners and 4 trumpetters, all which foure trumpetters at our returne homewards went on land at Messina in the Iland of Sicilia, as our ship road there at anker, & gat them into the Gallies that lay neere unto us, & in them went to Rome. The whole number of our companie in this ship were about 100. men, we were also furnished with a great bote, which was able to cary 10 tunnes of water, which at our returne homewards we towed all the way from Chio untill we came through the straight of Gibraltar into the maine Ocean. We had also a great long boat and a skiff. We were out upon this voyage eleven moneths, yet in all this time there died of sicknesse but one man, whose name was George Forrest, being servant to our Carpenter called Thomas Plummer.

In a great lygier booke of one William Eyms, servant unto Sir William Bowyer Alderman of London, bearing date the 15 of November 1533, and continued untill the 4 of July 1544. I find that he the said William Eyms was factor in Chio, not only for his Master, but also for the duke of Norfolkes grace, & for many other worshipful marchants of London, among whom I find the accompts of these especially, to wit, of his said Master, sir William Bowyer, of William & Nicholas Wilford Marchant-taylors of London, of Thomas Curtis pewterer, of John Starky Mercer, of William Ostrige Marchant, & of Richard Field Draper. And further I find in the said ligier booke, a note of the said Eyms, of all such goods as he left in the hands of Robert Bye in Chio, who became his Masters factor in his roome, and another like note of particulars of goods that he left in the hands of Oliver Lesson, servant to William and Nicholas Wilford. And for prooffe of the continuance of this trade untill the end of the yeere 1552. I found annexed unto the former note of the goods left with Robert Bye in Chio, a letter being dated the 27 of November 1552 in London.

The Epitaph of the valiant Esquire M. Peter Read in the south Ile of Saint Peters Church in the citie of Norwich, which was knighted by Charles the fift at the winning of Tunis in the yeere of our Lord 1538.

HERE under lyeth the corpes of Peter Reade Esquire, who hath worthily served, not onely his Prince and Countrey, but also the Emperour Charles the fift, both at his conquest of Barbarie, and at his siege at Tunis, as also in other places. Who had given him by the sayd Emperour for his valiant deedes the order of Barbary. Who dyed the 29 day of December, in the yeere of our Lord God 1566.

The voyage of Sir Thomas Chaloner to Alger with Charles the fift 1541, drawn out of his booke *De Republica Anglorum instauranda*.

THOMAS CHALONER was by birth a Londiner, by studie a Cantabrigian, by education a Courtier, by religion a devout and true Christian. Therefore after he had confirmed his youth and minde in the studies of good learning, when Sir Henry Knevet was sent ambassadour from the mighty Prince Henry the 8. to the Emperour Charles the fift, he went with him as his familiar friend, or as one of his Councell. At which time the said Charles the 5. passing over from Genoa and Corsica to Alger in Africa in warlike sort, with a mighty army by sea, that honorable Knevet the kings ambassadour, Thomas Chaloner, Henry Knolles, and Henry Isham, right worthy persons, of their owne accord accompanied him in that expedition, & served him in that warre, wherein Thomas Chaloner escaped most wonderfully with his life. For the gally wherein he was, being either dashed against the rockes, or shaken with mighty stormes, and so cast away, after he had saved himselfe a long while by swimming, when his strength failed him, his armes & hands being faint and weary, with great difficulty laying hold with his teeth on a cable, which was cast out of the next gally, not without breaking and losse of certaine of his teeth, at length recovered himselfe, and returned home into his countrey in safety.

The voyage of M. Roger Bodenham with the great Barke Aucher to Candia and Chio, in the yeere 1550.

IN the yeere 1550. the 13 of November I Roger Bodenham Captaine of the Barke Aucher entered the said ship at Gravesend, for my voiage to the Ilands of Candia and Chio in the Levant. The master of my ship was one William Sherwood. From thence we departed to Tilbery hope, and there remained with contrarie windes untill the 6. of January 1551. The 6. of Januarie, the M. came to Tilbery, and I had provided a skilfull pylot to cary me over the lands end, whose name was M. Wood, and with all speede I valed downe that night 10 miles to take the tide in the morning, which happily I did, and that night came to Dover, and there came to an anker, and there remained untill tuesday, meeting with the worthy knight sir Anthony Aucher owner of the saide ship.

The 11 day we arrived in Plimoth, and the 13 in the morning we set forward on our voyage with a prosperous winde, and the 16 we had sight of Cape Finister on the coast of Spaine.

The 30 we arrived at Cades, and there discharged certaine marchandise, and tooke others aboard.

The 20 of February we departed from Cades, & passed the straights of Gibraltar that night, and the 25 we came to the Ile of Mallorca, and staied there five daies with contrary windes.

The first of March, we had sight of Sardenna, and the fift of the said month wee arrived at Messina in Sicilia, and there discharged much goods, and remained there untill good Fryday in Lent.

The chiefe marchant that laded the sayd Barke Aucher was a marchant stranger called Anselm Salvago, and because the time was then very dangerous, and no going into Levant, especially to Chio, without a safe conduct from the Turke, the said Anselm promised the owner Sir Anthony Aucher, that we should receive the same at Messina. But I was posted from thence to Candia, and there I was answered that I should send to Chio, and there I should have my safe conduct. I was forced to send one, and hee had his answere that the Turke would give none, willing me to looke what was best for me to doe, which was no small trouble to me, considering

I was bound to deliver the goods that were in the ship at Chio, or send them at mine adventure. The marchants without care of the losse of the ship would have compelled me to goe, or send their goods at mine adventure, the which I denied, and sayd plainly I would not goe, because the Turkes gallies were come forth to goe against Malta, but by the French kings means, he was perswaded to leave Malta, and to goe to Tripoly in Barbary, which by the French he wan. In this time there were in Candia certaine Turkes vessels called Skyrasas, which had brought wheat thither to sell, and were ready to depart for Turkie. And they departed in the morning be times, carying newes that I would not goe foorth: the same night I prepared beforehande what I thought good, without making any man privie, untill I sawe time. Then I had no small businesse to cause my mariners to venture with the ship in such a manifest danger. Neverthesse I wan them to goe all with me, except three which I set on land, and with all diligence I was readie to set foorth about eight of the clocke at night, being a faire moone shine night, & went out. Then my 3 marriners made such requests unto the rest of my men to come aborde, as I was constrained to take them in. And so with good wind we put into the Archipelago, & being among the Ilands the winde scanted, & I was forced to anker at an Iland called Micone, where I taried 10 or 12 daies, having a greeke Pilot to carrie the ship to Chio. In this meane season, there came many small botes with mysson sayles to goe for Chio, with diverse goods to sell, & the Pilot requested me that I would let them goe in my company, to which I yeelded. After the sayde dayes expired, I wayed & set saile for the Iland of Chio, with which place I fel in the after noone, whereupon I cast to seaward againe to come with the Iland in the morning betimes. The foresaid smal vessels which came in my company, departed from me to win the shore, to get in ye night, but upon a sudden they espied 3 foystes of Turkes comming upon them to spoyle them. My Pilot, having a sonne in one of those small vessels, entreated me to cast about towards them, which at his request I did, and being some thing farre from them, I caused my Gunner to shoot a demy-colvering at a foyst that was readie to enter one of the botes. This was so happy a shott, that it made the Turke to fall a sterne of the bote

and to leave him, by the which meanes hee escaped. Then they all came to me, and requested that they might hang at my sterne untill day light, by which time I came before the Mole of Chio, and sent my bote on land to the marchants of that place to send for their goods out of hand, or else I would returne back with all to Candia, & they should fetch their goods there. But in fine, what by perswasion of my merchants English men, & those of Chio, I was entreated to come into the harbour, and had a safe assurance for 20 dayes against the Turkes army, with a bond of the citie in the summe of 12000 ducats. So I made hast & solde such goods as I had to Turkes that came thither, & put all in order, with as much speede as I could, fearing the comming of the Turkes navie, of the which, the chiefe of the citie knew right wel. So upon the sudden they called me of great friendship, & in secret told me, I had no way to save my selfe but to be gone, for said they, we be not able to defend you, that are not able to help our selves, for the Turke where he commeth, taketh what he will, & leaveth what he list, but the chiefe of the Turkes set order y<sup>t</sup> none shal do any harme to the people or to their goods. This was such news to me, that indeed I was at my wits end, & was brought into many imaginations how to do, for that the winde was contrarie. In fine, I determined to goe foorth. But the marchants English men and other regarding more their gaines then the ship, hindered me very much in my purpose of going foorth, and made the marriners to come to me to demaund their wages to be payed them out of hande, and to have a time to employ the same there. But God provided so for me, that I paid them their money that night, and then charged them, that if they would not set the ship foorth, I would make them to answere the same in England, with danger of their heads. Many were married in England and had somewhat to loose, those did sticke to me. I had twelve gunners: the Master gunner who was a madde brayned fellow, and the owners servant had a parlament betweene themselves, and he upon the same came up to me with his sword drawn, swearing that hee had promised the owner Sir Anthony Aucher, to live and die in the sayde shippe against all that should offer any harme to the shippe, and that he would fight with the whole armie of the Turkes, and never yeelde: with this fellow I had



much to doe, but at the last I made him confesse his fault and followe mine advise. Thus with much labour I gat out of the Mole of Chio, into the sea by warping foorth, with the helpe of Genoueses botes, and a French bote that was in the Mole, and being out God sent mee a speciall gale of winde to goe my way. Then I caused a peece to be shotte off for some of my men that were yet in the towne, & with much a doe they came aboard, and then I set sayle a little before one of the clocke, and I made all the sayle I could, and about halfe an hour past two of the clocke there came seven gallies into Chio to stay the shippe: and the admirall of them was in a great rage because she was gone. Whereupon they put some of the best in prison, and tooke all the men of the three ships which I left in the port, and put them into the Gallies. They would have followed after mee, but that the townes men found meanes they did not. The next day came thither a hundred more of Gallies, and there taried for their whole companie, which being together were about two hundred & 50 sayle, taking their voyage for to surprise the Iland of Malta. The next day after I departed, I had the sight of Candia, but I was two dayes after or ever I could get in, where I thought my selfe out of their daunger. There I continued untill the Turkes armie was past, who came within the sight of the towne. There was preparation made as though the Turks had come thither. There be in that Iland of Candia many banished men, that live continually in the mountaines, they came downe to serve, to the number of foure or five thousand, they are good archers, every one with his bowe and arrowes, a sword and a dagger, with long haire, and bootes that reach up to their grine, and a shirt of male, hanging the one halfe before, and the other halfe behinde, these were sent away againe assoone as the armie was past. They would drinke wine out of all measure. Then the armie being past, I laded my shippe with wines and other things: and so after I had that which I left in Chio, I departed for Messina. In the way I found about Zante, certaine Galliotts of Turkes, laying aboard of certaine vessels of Venice laden with Muscatels: I rescued them, and had but a barrell of wine for my powder and shot: and within a few dayes after I came to Messina. I had in my shippe a Spanish pilot called Noblezia, which I tooke in at Cades at my comming

foorth: he went with me all this voyage into the Levant without wages, of good will that he bare me and the shippe, he stode me in good steede untill I came backe againe to Cades, and then I needed no Pilot. And so from thence I came to London with the shippe and goods in safetie, God be prayed. And all those Mariners that were in my sayd shippe, which were, besides boyes, three-score and tenne, for the most part were within five or sixe yeeres after, able to take charge, and did. Richard Chancellor, who first discovered Russia, was with me in that voyage, and Mathew Baker, who afterward became the Queenes Majesties chiefe ship-wright.

The voyage of M. John Locke to Jerusalem.

In my voyage to Jerusalem, I imbarked my selfe the 26 of March 1553 in the good shippe called the Mathew Gonson, which was bound for Livorno, or Legorne and Candia. It fell out that we touched in the beginning of Aprill next ensuing at Cades in Andalozia, where the Spaniardes, according to their accustomed maner with all shippes of extraordinarie goodnes and burden, picked a quarrell against the company, meaning to have forfeited, or at the least to have arrested the said shippe. And they grew so malicious in their wrongfull purpose, that I being utterly out of hope of any speedie release, to the ende that my intention should not be overthrowen, was inforced to take this course following. Notwithstanding this hard beginning, it fell out so luckily, that I found in the roade a great shippe called the Cavalla of Venice, wherin after agreement made with the patron, I shipped my selfe the 24. of May in the said yere 1553, and the 25 by reason of the winde blowing hard and contrary, we were not able to enter the straits of Gibraltar, but were put to the coast of Barbarie, where we ankered in the maine sea 2. leagues from shore, and continued so untill two houres before sunne set, and then we weighed againe, and turned our course towards the Straits, where we entered the 26 day aforesayd, the winde being very calme, but the current of the straites very favourable. The same day the winde beganne to rise somewhat, and blew a furthering gale, and so continued at Northwest untill we arrived at Legorne the third of June. And from thence riding over land unto Venice, I prepared for my voyage to Jerusalem in the Pilgrimes shippe.

I John Locke, accompanied with Maister Anthony Rastwold, with divers other, Hollanders, Zelanders, Almaines and French pilgrimes entered the good shippe called Fila Cavena of Venice, the 16 of July 1553. and the 17 in the morning we weighed our anker and sayled towardes the coast of Istria, to the port of Rovigno, and the said day there came aboard of our ship the Percevena of the shippe named Tamisari, for to receive the rest of all the pilgrimes money, which was in all after the rate of 55. Crownes for every man for that voyage, after the rate of five shillings starling to the crowne: This done, he returned to Venice.

The 19 day we tooke fresh victuals aboard, and with the bote that brought the fresh provision we went on land to the Towne, and went to see the Church of Sancta Eufemia, where we sawe the bodie of the sayd Saint.

The 20 day wee departed from Rovignio, and about noone we had sight of Monte de Ancona, and the hilles of Dalmatia, or else of Sclavonia both at one time, and by report they are 100. miles distant from ech other, and more.

The 21 we sayled still in sight of Dalmatia, and a litle before noone, we had sight of a rocke in the midst of the sea, called in Italian, il Pomo, it appeareth a farre off to be in shape like a sugarloafe. Also we sawe another rocke about two miles compasse called Sant Andrea: on this rocke is onely one Monasterie of Friers: we sayled betweene them both, and left S. Andrea on the left hand of us, and we had also kenning of another Iland called Lissa, all on the left hande, these three Ilands lie East and West in the sea, and at sunne setting we had passed them. Il pomo is distant from Sant Andrea 18 miles, and S. Andrea from Lissa 10 miles, and Lissa from another Iland called Lezina, which standeth betweene the maine of Dalmatia and Lissa, tenne miles. This Iland is inhabited, and hath great plentie of wine and frutes and hereagainst we were becalmed.

The 22 we had sight of another small Iland called Catza, which is desolate and on the left hand, and on the right hand, a very dangerous Iland called Pelagosa, this is also desolate, and lyeth in the midst of the sea betweene both the maines: it is very dangerous and low land, and it hath a long ledge of rockes lying out sixe miles in to the sea, so that many ships by night are cast

away upon them. There is betweene Catza and Pelagosa 30 miles, and these two Ilands are distant from Venice 400 miles. There is also about twelve miles eastward, a great Iland called Augusta, about 14 miles in length, somewhat hillie, but well inhabited, and fruitfull of vines, corne and other fruit, this also we left on the left hand : & we have hitherto kept our course from Rovignio East southeast. This Iland is under the Signiorie or government of Ragusa, it is distant from Ragusa 50 miles, and there is by that Iland a greater, named Meleda, which is also under the government of Ragusa, it is about 30 miles in length, and inhabited, and hath good portes, it lyeth by East from Augusta, and over against this Iland lyeth a hill called Monte S. Angelo, upon the coast of Puglia in Italy, and we had sight of both landes at one time.

The 23 we sayled all the day long by the bowline alongst the coast of Ragusa, and towards night we were within 7 or 8 miles of Ragusa, that we might see the white walles, but because it was night, we cast about to the sea, minding at the second watch, to beare it againe to Ragusa, for to know the newes of the Turkes armie, but the winde blew so hard and contrary, that we could not. This citie of Ragusa paieth tribute to the Turke yerely fourteene thousand Sechinos, and every Sechino is of venetian money eight livers and two soldes, besides other presents which they give to the Turkes Bassas when they come thither. The Venetians have a rocke or cragge within a mile of the said towne, for the which the Raguseos would give them much money, but they doe keepe it more for the namesake, then for profite. This rocke lieth on the Southside of the towne, and is called Il cromo, there is nothing on it but onely a Monasterie called Sant Jeronimo. The maine of the Turkes countrie is bordering on it within one mile, for the which cause they are in great subjection. This night wee were put backe by contrarie windes, and ankered at Melleda.

The 24 being at an anker under Melleda, we would have gone on land, but the winde came so faire that we presently set sayle and went our course, and left on the right hand of us the forenamed Iland, and on the left hand betweene us and the maine the Iland of Zupanna, and within a mile of that under the maine by East,

another Iland called Isola de Mezo. This Iland hath two Monasteries in it, one called Santa Maria de Bizo, and the other Sant Nicholo. Also there is a third rocke with a Frierie called Sant Andrea: these Ilands are from the maine but two miles, and the channell betweene Melleda and Zupanna is but foure or five miles over by gesse, but very deepe, for we had at an anker fortie fathoms. The two Ilands of Zupanna and Mezo are well inhabited, and very faire buildings, but nothing plentie save wine onely. This night toward sunne set it waxed calme, and we sayled little or nothing.

The 24 we were past Ragusa 14 miles, and there we mette with two Venetian ships, which came from Cyprus, we thought they would have spoken with us, for we were desirous to talke with them, to knowe the newes of the Turkes armie, and to have sent some letters by them to Venice. About noone, we had scant sight of Castel novo, which Castell a fewe yeeres past the Turke tooke from the Emperour, in which fight were slaine three hundred Spanish souldiers, besides the rest which were taken prisoners, and made gallie slaves. This Castell is hard at the mouth of a channell called Boca de Cataro. The Venetians have a hold within the channell called Cataro, this channell goeth up to Budoa, and further up into the countrey. About sunneset we were over against the hilles of Antiveri in Sclavonia, in the which hilles the Venetians have a towne called Antiveri, and the Turkes have another against it called Marchevetti, the which two townes continually skirmish together with much slaughter. At the end of these hils endeth the Countrey of Sclavonia, and Albania beginneth. These hilles are thirtie miles distant from Ragusa.

The 27 we kept our course towards Puglia, and left Albania on the left hand. The 28. we had sight of both the maines, but we were neerer the coast of Puglia, for feare of Foystes. It is betweene Cape Chimera in Albania and Cape otranto in Puglia 60 miles. Puglia is a plaine low lande, and Chimera in Albania is very high land, so that it is seene the further. Thus sayling our course along the coast of Puglia, we saw diverse white Towers, which serve for sea-markes. About three of the clocke in the after noone, we had sight of a rocke called Il fano, 48 miles from Corfu, and by sunne set we discovered Corfu. Thus we kept on our course with a prosperous winde,



and made our way after twelve mile every houre. Most part of this way we were accompanied with certaine fishes called in the Italian tongue Palomide, it is a fish three quarters of a yard in length, in colour, eating, and making like a Makarell, somewhat bigge and thick in body, and the tayle forked like a halfe moone, for the which cause it is said that the Turke will not suffer them to be taken in all his dominions.

The 29 in the morning we were in sight of an Iland, which we left on our left hande called Cephalonia, it is under the Venetians and well inhabited, with a faire towne strongly situated on a hill, of the which hill the Iland beareth her name, it hath also a very strong fortresse or Castle, and plentie of corne and wine, their language is Greeke, it is distant from the maine of Morea, thirtie miles, it is in compasse 80 miles. One houre within night we sayled by the towne standing on the South cape of Cephalonia, whereby we might perceive their lights. There come oftentimes into the creekes and rivers, the Turkes foystes and gallies where at their arrivall, the Countrey people doe signifie unto their neighbours by so many lights, as there are foistes or gallies in the Iland, and thus they doe from one to another the whole Iland over. About three of the clocke in the afternoone the winde scanted, and wee minded to have gone to Zante, but we could not for that night. This Iland of Zante is distant from Cephalonia, 12 or 14 miles, but the towne of Cephalonia, from the towne of Zante, is distant fortie miles. This night we went but little forward.

The 30 day we remained still turning up and downe because the winde was contrary, and towards night the winde mended, so that we entered the channell betweene Cephalonia, & Zante, the which chanell is about eight or tenne miles over, and these two beare East and by South, and West and by North from the other. The towne of Zante lieth within a point of the land, where we came to an anker, at nine of the clocke at night.

The 31 about sixe of the clocke in the morning, I with five Hollanders went on land, and hosted at the house of Pedro de Venetia. After breakfast we went to see the towne, and passing along we went into some of the Greeke churches, wherein we sawe their Altares, Images, and other ornaments. This done, wee went to a Monas-

terie of Friers called Sancta Maria de la Croce, these are western Christians, for the Greekes have nothing to doe with them, nor they with the Greekes, for they differ very much in religion. There are but 2. Friers in this Friery. In this Monasterie we saw the tombe that M. T. Cicero, was buried in, with Terentia Antonia, his wife. This tombe was founde about sixe yeeres since, when the Monastery was built, there was in time past a streete where the tombe stode. At the finding of the tombe there was also found a yard under ground, a square stone somewhat longer than broad, upon which stone was found a writing of two severall handes writing, the one as it seemed, for himselfe, and the other for his wife, and under the same stone was found a glasse somewhat proportioned like an urinall, but that it was eight square and very thicke, wherein were the ashes of the head and right arme of Mar. T. Cicero, for as stories make mention he was beheaded as I remember at Capua, for insurrection. And his wife having got his head and right arme, (which was brought to Rome to the Emperour) went from Rome, and came to Zante, and there buried his head and arme, and wrote upon his tombe this style M. T. Cicero. Have. Then followeth in other letters, Et tu Terentia Antonia, which difference of letters declare that they were not written both at one time. The tombe is long and narrowe, and deepe, walled on every side like a grave, in the botome whereof was found the sayd stone with the writing on it, & the said glasse of ashes, and also another litle glasse of the same proportion, wherein, as they say, are the teares of his friendes, that in those dayes they did use to gather and bury with them, as they did use in Italy and Spaine to teare their haire, to bury with their friendes. In the sayde tombe were a fewe bones. After dinner we rested untill it drew towards evening by reason of the heat. And about foure of the clocke we walked to another Frierie a mile out of the towne called Sant Elia, these are white Friers, there were two, but one is dead, not sixe dayes since. This Frierie hath a garden very pleasant, and well furnished with Orenge, Lemons, pomegranates, and divers other good fruites. The way to it is somewhat ragged, up hill and downe, and very stonie, and in winter very durty. It standeth very pleasantly in a clift betweene two hilles, with a good prospect. From thence we ascended the hill to

the Castle, which is situated on the very toppe of a hill. This Castle is very strong, in compasse a large mile and a halfe, which being victualed, (as it is never unfurnished) and manned with men of trust, it may defend it selfe against any Princes power. This Castle taketh the just compasse of the hill, and no other hill neere it, it is so steepe downe, and so high and ragged, that it will tyre any man or ever he be halfe way up. Very nature hath fortified the walles and bulwarkes: It is by nature foure square, and it commandeth the towne and porte. The Venetians have alwayes their Podesta, or Governour, with his two Counsellours resident therein. The towne is well inhabited, & hath great quantitie of housholders. The Iland by report is threescore and tenne miles about, it is able to make twentie thousand fighting men. They say they have alwayes five or sixe hundred horsemen readie at an houres warning. They say the Turke hath assayed it with 100. Gallies, but he could never bring his purpose to passe. It is strange to mee how they should maintaine so many men in this Iland, for their best sustenance is wine, and the rest but miserable.

The first of August we were warned aboard by the patron, and towards evening we set sayle, and had sight of a Castle called Torneste, which is the Turkes, and is ten miles from Zante, it did belong to the Venetians, but they have now lost it, it standeth also on a hill on the sea side in Morea. All that night we bare into the sea, because we had newes at Zante of twelve of the Turkes gallies, that came from Rhodes, which were about Modon, Coron, and Candia, for which cause we kept at the sea.

The second of August we had no sight of land, but kept our course, and about the third watch the winde scanted, so that we bare with the shore, and had sight of Modon and Coron.

The third we had sight of Cavo Mattapan, and all that day by reason of contrary windes, which blew somewhat hard, we lay a hull untill morning.

The fourth we were still under the sayd Cape, and so continued that day, and towards night there grewe a contention in the ship amongst the Hollanders, and it had like to have bene a great inconvenience, for we had all our weapons, yea even our knives taken from us that night.

The fift, we sayled by the Bowline, and out of the toppe we had sight of the Iland of Candia, and towards noone we might see it plaine, and towards night the winde waxed calme.

The sixt toward the breake of day we saw two small Ilands called Gozi, and towards noone we were betweene them: the one of these Ilands is fiteene miles about, and the other 10 miles. In those Ilands are nourished store of cattell for butter and cheese. There are to the number of fiftie or sixtie inhabitants, which are Greeks, and they live chiefly on milke and cheese. The Iland of Candia is 700 miles about, it is in length, from Cape Spada, to Cape Salomon, 300 miles, it is as they say, able to make one hundred thousand fighting men. We sayled betweene the Gozi, and Candia, and they are distant from Candia 5 or 6 miles. The Candiots are strong men, and very good archers, and shoot neere the marke. This Ilande is from Zante 300 miles.

The seventh we sayled all along the sayd Iland with little winde and unstable, and the eight day towards night we drew to the East end of the Iland.

The 9 and 10 we sayled along with a prosperous winde and saw no land.

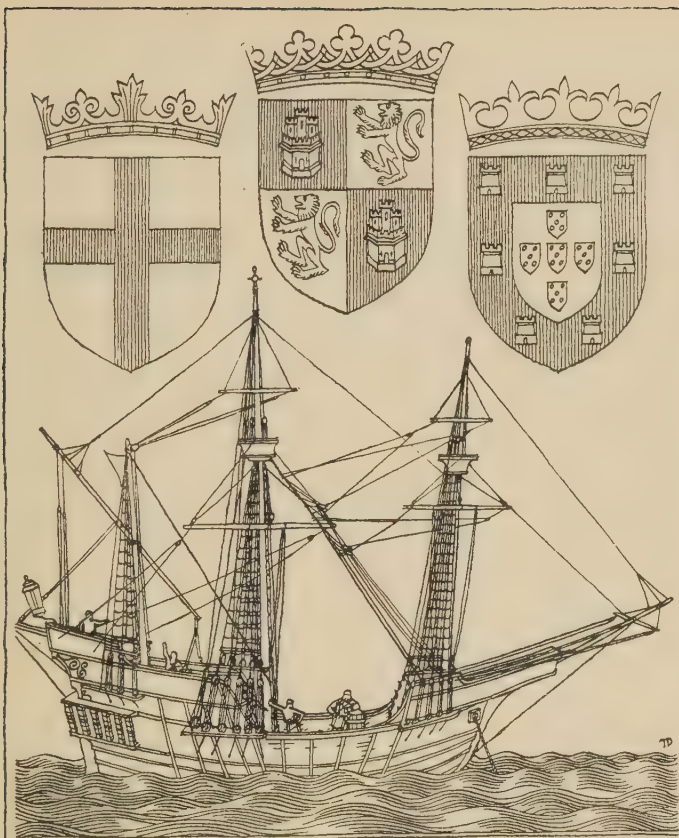
The 11 in the morning, we had sight of the Iland of Cyprus, and towards noone we were thwart the Cape called Ponta Malota, and about foure of the clocke we were as farre as Baffo, and about sunne set we passed Cavo Bianco, and towards nine of the clocke at night we doubled Cavo de la gatte, and ankered afore Limisso, but the wind blew so hard, that we could not come neere the towne, neither durst any man goe on land. The towne is from Cavo de le gatte twelve miles distant.

The 12. of August in the morning wee went on land to Limisso: this towne is ruinated and nothing in it worth writing, save onely in the mids of the towne there hath bene a fortresse, which is now decayed, and the wals part overthrowen, which a Turkish Rover with certaine gallies did destroy about 10. or 12. yeeres past. This day walking to see the towne, we chanced to see in the market place, a great quantitie of a certaine vermine called in the Italian tongue Cavalette. It is as I can learne, both in shape and bignesse like a grasshopper, for I can judge but little difference. Of these many yeeres they have had such quantitie y<sup>t</sup> they destroy

all their corne. They are so plagued with them, y<sup>t</sup> almost every yeere they doe well nie loose halfe their corne, whether it be the nature of the countrey, or the plague of God, that let them judge that best can define. But that there may no default be laied to their negligence for the destruction of them, they have throughout the whole land a constituted order, that every Farmor or husbandman (which are even as slaves bought and sold to their lord) shall every yeere pay according to his territorie, a measure full of the seede or egges of these forenamed Cavalette, the which they are bound to bring to the market, and present to the officer appointed for the same, the which officer taketh of them very straight measure, and writeth the names of the presenters, and putteth the sayd egges or seed, into a house appointed for the same, and having the house full, they beate them to poulder, and cast them into the sea, and by this policie they doe as much as in them lieth for the destruction of them. This vermine breedeth or ingendereth at the time of corne being ripe, and the corne beyng had away, in the clods of the same ground do the husbandmen find ye nestes, or, as I may rather terme them, cases of the egges of the same vermine. Their nests are much like to the keies of a hasel-nut tree, when they be dried, and of the same length, but somewhat bigger, which case being broken you shall see the egges lie much like unto antes egges, but somewhat lesser. Thus much I have written at this time, because I had no more time of knowledge, but I trust at my returne to note more of this island, with the commodities of the same at large.

The 13. day we went in the morning to the Greekes church, to see the order of their ceremonies, & of their communion, of the which to declare the whole order with the number of their ceremonious crossings, it were too long. Wherefore least I should offend any man, I leave it unwritten: but onely that I noted well, that in all their Communion or service, not one did ever kneele, nor yet in any of their Churches could I ever see any graven images, but painted or portrayed. Also they have store of lampes alight, almost for every image one. Their women are alwayes seperated from the men, and generally they are in the lower ende of the Church. This night we went aboard the ship, although the wind were contrary, we did it because the patrone should not find any





# AN EARLY 16<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY MERCHANT SHIP

of a type developed, largely by the  
GENOESE, PORTUGUESE & SPANIARDS,  
during the 14<sup>th</sup> & 15<sup>th</sup> centuries for the purposes  
of sea-borne commerce.

*Drawing derived from the model by Mr F.H. Mason, R.E.A., in the Science Museum, S.K.*



lacke of us, as sometimes he did : when as tarying upon his owne businesse, he would colour it with the delay of the pilgrimes.

The 14. day in the morning we set saile, and lost sight of the Island of Cyprus, and the 15. day we were likewise at Sea, and sawe no land : and the 16. day towards night, we looked for land, but we sawe none. But because we supposed our selves to be neere our port, we tooke in all our sailes except onely the foresaile and the misen, and so we remained all that night.

The 17. day in the morning, we were by report of the Mariners, some sixe miles from Jaffa, but it prooved contrary. But because we would be sure, wee came to an anker seven miles from the shore, and sent the skiffe with the Pilot and the master gunner, to learne the coast, but they returned, not having seen tree nor house, nor spoken with any man. But when they came to the sea side againe, they went up a little hill standing hard by the brinke, whereon as they thought they sawe the hill of Jerusalem, by the which the Pilot knew (after his judgement) that wee were past our port. And so this place where we rode was, as the mariners sayd, about 50. mile from Jaffa. This coast all alongst is very lowe, plaine, white, sandie, and desert, for which cause it hath fewe markes or none, so that we rode here as it were in a gulfe betweene two Capes.

The 18. day we abode still at anker, looking for a gale to returne backe, but it was contrary : and the 19. we set saile, but the currant having more force then the winde, we were driven backe, insomuch, that the ship being under saile, we cast the sounding lead, & (notwithstanding the wind) it remained before the shippe, there wee had muddie ground at fiftene fadome. The same day about 4. of the clocke, wee set saile againe, and sayled West alongst the coast with a fresh side-winde. It chanced by fortune that the shippes Cat lept into the Sea, which being downe, kept her selfe very valiauntly above water, notwithstanding the great waves, still swimming, the which the master knowing, he caused the Skiffe with halfe a dosen men to goe towards her and fetch her againe, when she was almost halfe a mile from the shippe, and all this while the shippe lay on staies. I hardly beleeeve they would have made such haste and meanes if one of the company had bene in the like perill.

They made the more haste because it was the patrons cat. This I have written onely to note the estimation that cats are in, among the Italians, for generally they esteeme their cattes, as in England we esteeme a good Spaniell. The same night about tenne of the clocke the winde calmed, and because none of the shippe knewe where we were, we let fall an anker about 6 mile from the place we were at before, and there wee had muddie ground at twelve fathome.

The 20 it was still calme, and the current so strong still one way, that we were not able to stemme the streame: moreover we knew not where we were, whereupon doubting whither wee were past, or short of our port, the Master, Pilot, and other Officers of the shippe entered into counsell what was best to doe, whereupon they agreed to sende the bote on lande againe, to seeke some man to speake with all, but they returned as wise as they went. Then we set sayle againe and sounded every mile or halfe mile, and found still one depth, so we not knowing where we were, came againe to an anker, seven or eight miles by West from the place we were at. Thus still doubting where we were, the bote went on land againe, and brought newes that wee were short 80 miles of the place, whereas we thought wee had beene overshot by east fiftie miles. Thus in these doubts we lost foure dayes, and never a man in the shippe able to tell where we were, notwithstanding there were diverse in the shippe that had beene there before. Then sayd the Pylot, that at his comming to the shore, by chance he saw two way-faring men, which were Moores, and he cryed to them in Turkish, insomuch that the Moores, partly for feare, and partly for lacke of understanding, (seeing them to be Christians) beganne to flie, yet in the end with much a doe, they stayed to speake with them, which men when they came together, were not able to understand ech other, but our men made to them the signe of the Crosse on the sande, to give them to understand that they were of the shippe that brought the pilgrims. Then the Moores knowing (as al the country else doth) that it was the use of Christians to go to Jerusalem, shewed them to be yet by west of Jaffa. Thus we remained all that night at anker, and the farther west that we sayled, the lesse water we had.

The 21 we set sayle againe, and kept our course

Northeast, but because we would not goe along the shore by night, wee came to an anker in foure and twentie fathome water. Then the next morning being the 22 we set sayle againe, and kept our course as before, and about three of the clocke in the afternoone wee had sight of the two towers of Jaffa, and about five of the clocke, wee were with a rocke, called in the Italian tongue, Scolio di Santo Petro, on the which rocke they say he fished, when Christ bid him cast his net on the right side, and caught so many fishes. This rocke is now almost worne away. It is from Jaffa two or three mile: here before the two towers we came to an anker. Then the pilgrimes after supper, in salutation of the holy lande, sang to the prayse of God, Te Deum laudamus, with Magnificat, and Benedictus, but in the shippe was a Frier of Santo Francisco, who for anger because he was not called and warned, would not sing with us, so that he stood so much upon his dignitie, that he forgot his simplicitie, and neglected his devotion to the holy land for that time, saying that first they ought to have called him yer they did beginne, because he was a Fryer, and had beene there, and knewe the orders.

The 23 we sent the bote on land with a messenger to the Padre Guardian of Jerusalem. This day it was notified unto mee by one of the shippe that had beene a slave in Turkie, that no man might weare greene in this land, because their prophet Mahomet went in greene. This came to my knowledge by reason of the Scrivanello, who had a greene cap, which was forbidden him to weare on the land.

The 24. 25. and 26 we taryed in the shippe still looking for the comming of the Padre guardian, and the 26 at night we had a storme which lasted all the next day.

The 27 in the morning, came the Cadi, ye Subassi, & the Meniwe, with the Padre guardian, but they could not come at us by reason of the stormy weather: in the afternoone we assayed to send the bote on land, but the weather would not suffer us. Then againe toward night the bote went a shore, but it returned not that night. The same day in the afternoone we sawe in the element, a cloud with a long tayle, like unto the tayle of a serpent, which cloud is called in Italian Cion, the tayle of this cloud did hang as it were into the sea: and we did see the water under the sayde cloude ascend, as it were like



a smoke or myste, the which this Cion drew up to it. The Marriners reported to us that it had this propertie, that if it should happen to have lighted on any part of the shippe, that it would rent and wreth sayles, mast, shroudes and shippe and all in manner like a wyth: on the land, trees, houses, or whatsoever else it lighteth on, it would rent and wreth. These marriners did use a certaine conjuration to breake the sayd tayle, or cut it in two, which as they say doth prevaile. They did take a blacke hafted knife, and with the edge of the same did crosse the said taile as if they would cut it in twain, saying these words, Hold thou Cion, eat this, and then they stucke the knife on the ship side with the edge towards the said cloude, and I saw it therewith vanish in lesse then one quarter of an houre. But whether it was then consumed, or whether by vertue of the Inchantment it did vanish I knowe not, but it was gone. Hereof let them judge that know more then I. This afternoone we had no winde, but the Sea very stormy, insomuch that neither cheste, pot, nor any thing else could stand in the shippe, and wee were driven to keepe our meate in one hand, and the pot in the other, and so sit downe upon the hatches to eate, for stand we could not, for that the Seas in the very port at an anker went so high as if wee had bene in the bay of Portugall with stormy weather. The reason is, as the Mariners said to me, because that there meete all the waves from all places of the Straights of Gibraltar, and there breake, and that in most calmes there go greatest seas, whether the winde blow or not.

The 28. the weather growing somewhat calme, wee went on land and rested our selves for that day, and the next day we set forward toward the city of Jerusalem.

What I did, and what places of devotion I visited in Jerusalem, and other parts of the Holy land, from this my departure from Jaffa, untill my returne to the said port, may briefly be seene in my Testimoniall, under the hand & seale of the Vicar generall of Mount Sion, which for the contentment of the Reader I thought good here to interlace.

UNIVERSIS & singulis præsentis litteras inspecturis salutem in Domino nostro Jesu Christo. Attestamur vobis ac aliis quibuscunque, qualiter honorabilis vir Johannes Lok civis Londoniensis, filius honorabilis viri

Guilhelmi Lok equitis aurati, ad sacratissima terræ sanctæ loca personaliter se contulit, sanctissimum Domini nostri Jesu Christi sepulchrum, e quo die tertia gloriosus à mortuis resurrexit, sacratissimum Calvariæ montem, in quo pro nobis omnibus cruci affixus mori dignatus est, Sion etiam montem ubi cœnam illam mirificam cum discipulis suis fecit, & ubi spiritus sanctus in die sancto Pentecostes in discipulos eosdem in linguis igneis descendit, Olivetique montem ubi mirabiliter coelos ascendit, intemeratæ virginis Mariæ Mausoleum in Josaphat vallis medio situm, Bethaniam quoque, Bethlehem civitatem David in qua de purissima virgine Maria natus est, ibique inter animalia reclinatus, pluraque loca alia tam in Hierusalem civitate sancta terre Judææ, quàm extra, à modernis peregrinis visitari solita, devotissimè visitavit, pariterque adoravit. In quorum fidem, ego frater Anthonius de Bergamo ordinis fratrum minorum regularis observantiæ, provinciæ divi Anthonii Sacri conventus montis Sion vicarius (licet indignus) necnon aliorum locorum terræ Sanctæ, apostolica autoritate commissarius & rector, has Sigillo maiori nostri officii nostraque subscriptione muniri volui. Datum Hierosolymis apud sacratissimum domini coenaculum in sæpè memorato monte Sion, Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo, quinquagesimo tertio, die vero sexto mensis Septembris.

Frater Antonius qui supra.

THE 15. of September being come from our pilgrimage, we went aborde our shippe, and set saile, and kept our course West toward the Island of Ciprus, but al that night it was calme, and the 16. the winde freshed, and we passed by Mount Carmel.

The 17. the winde was very scant, yet we kept the sea, and towards night wee had a guste of raine whereby wee were constrained to strike our sailes, but it was not very stormie, nor lasted very long.

The 18. 19. 20. and 21. we kept still the sea and saw no land because we had very litle winde, and that not very favourable.

The 22. at noone the Boatswaine sent some of the Mariners into the boat, (which we toed asterne from Jaffa) for certaine necessaries belonging to the ship, wherein the Mariners found a certaine fish in proportion like a Dace, about 6. inches long (yet the Mariners said

they had seene the like a foote long and more) the which fish had on every side a wing, and toward the taile two other lesser as it were finnes, on either side one, but in proportion they were wings and of a good length. These wings grow out betweene the gills and the carkasse of the same fish. They are called in the Italian tongue *Pesce columbini*, for in deede, the wings being spread it is like to a flying dove, they say it will flie farre, and very high. So it seemeth that being weary of her flight, she fell into the boate, and not being able to rise againe died there.

The 23. 24. and 25. we sailed our direct course with a small gale of winde, and this day we had sight of the Island of Cyprus. The first land that we discovered was a headland called *Cavo de la Griega*, and about midnight we ankered by North of the Cape. This cape is a high hil, long and square, and on the East corner it hath a high cop, that appeareth unto those at the sea, like a white cloud, for toward the sea it is white, and it lieth into the sea Southwest. This coast of Cyprus is high declining toward the sea, but it hath no cliffes.

The 26. we set saile againe, and toward noone we came into the port of Salini, where we went on land and lodged that night at a towne one mile from thence called *Arnacho di Salini*, this is but a village called in Italian, *Casalia*. This is distant from *Jaffa* 250. Italian miles.

The 27. we rested, and the 28. we hired horses to ride from *Arnacho* to *Salina*, which is good mile. The salt pit is very neere two miles in compasse, very plaine and levell, into the which they let runne at the time of raine a quantitie of water comming from the mountaines, which water is let in until the pit be full to a certaine marke, which when it is full, the rest is conveyed by a trench into the sea. This water is let runne in about October, or sooner or later, as the time of the yeere doth afforde. There they let it remaine untill the ende of July or the middest of August, out of which pits at that time, in stead of water that they let in they gather very faire white salt, without any further art or labour, for it is only done by the great heate of the sunne. This the Venetians have, and doe maintaine to the use of *S. Marke*, and the Venetian ships that come to this Iland are bound to cast out their ballast, and to lade with salt for Venice.

Also there may none in all the Iland buy salt but of these men, who maintaine these pits for S. Marke. This place is watched by night with 6. horsemen to the end it be not stolne by night. Also under the Venetians dominions no towne may spende any salt, but they must buy it of Saint Marke, neither may any man buy any salt at one towne to carie to another, but every one must buy his salt in the towne where he dwelleth. Neither may any man in Venice buy more salt then he spendeth in the city, for if he be knowen to carie but one ounce out of the citie and be accused, hee looseth an eare. The most part of all the salt they have in Venice commeth from these Salines, and they have it so plentifull, that they are not able, never a yeere to gather the one halfe, for they onely gather in July, August, and September, and not fully these three monethes. Yet notwithstanding the abundance that the shippes carie away yeerely, there remaine heapes like hilles, some heapes able to lade nine or tenne shippes, and there are heapes of two yeeres gathering, some of three and some of nine or tenne yeeres making, to the value of a great summe of golde, and when the ships do lade, they never take it by measure, but when they come at Venice they measure it. This salt as it lyeth in the pit is like so much ice, and it is sixe inches thicke: they digge it with axes, and cause their slaves to cary it to the heapes. This night at midnight we rode to Famagusta, which is eight leagues from Salina, which is 24 English miles.

The 29 about two houres before day, we alighted at Famagusta, and after we were refreshed we went to see the towne. This is a very faire strong holde, and the strongest and greatest in the Iland. The walles are faire and new, and strongly rampired with foure principall bulwarkes, and betweene them turrions, responding one to another, these walles did the Venetians make. They have also on the haven side of it a Castle, and the haven is chained, the citie hath onely two gates, to say, one for the lande and another for the sea, they have in the towne continually, be it peace or warres, 800 souldiers, and fortie and sixe gunners, besides Captaines, petie Captaines, Governour and Generall. The lande gate hath alwayes fiftie souldiers, pikes and gunners with their harnes, watching thereat night and day. At the sea gate five and twentie, upon the walles every night doe watch

fifteene men in watch houses, for every watch house five men, and in the market place 30 souldiers continually. There may no soldier serve there above 5. yeres, neither will they without friendship suffer them to depart afore 5. yeres be expired, and there may serve of all nations except Greekes. They have every pay, which is 45. dayes, 15 Mozenigos, which is 15 shillings sterling. Their horsemen have onely sixe soldes Venetian a day, and provender for their horses, but they have also certaine lande therewith to plow and sowe for the maintenance of their horses, but truely I marvell how they live being so hardly fed, for all the sommer they feede onely upon chopt strawe and barley, for hey they have none, and yet they be faire, fat and serviceable. The Venetians send every two yeeres new rulers, which they call Castellani. The towne hath allowed it also two gallies continually armed and furnished.

The 30 in the morning we ridde to a chappell, where they say Saint Katherin was borne. This Chappell is in olde Famagusta, the which was destroyed by Englishmen, and is cleane overthrowne to the ground, to this day desolate and not inhabited by any person, it was of a great circuit, and there be to this day mountaines of faire, great, and strong buildings, and not onely there, but also in many places of the Iland. Moreover when they digge, plowe, or trench they finde sometimes olde antient coines, some of golde, some of silver, and some of copper, yea and many tombes and vautes with sepulchers in them. This olde Famagusta is from the other, foure miles, and standeth on a hill, but the new towne on a plaine. Thence we returned to new Famagusta againe to dinner, and toward evening we went about the towne, and in the great Church we sawe the tombe of king Jaques, which was the last king of Cyprus, and was buried in the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred seventie & three, and had to wife one of the daughters of Venice, of the house of Cornari, the which family at this day hath great revenues in this Island, and by means of that mariage the Venetians chalenge the kingdom of Cyprus.

The first of October in the morning, we went to see the reliefe of the watches. That done, we went to one of the Greekes Churches to see a pot or Jarre of stone, which is sayd to bee one of the seven Jarres of water,



the which the Lord God at the mariage converted into wine. It is a pot of earth very faire, white enamelled, and fairely wrought upon with drawen worke, and hath on either side of it, instead of handles, eares made in fourme as the Painters make angels wings, it was about an elle high, and small at the bottome, with a long necke and correspondent in circuit to the bottome, the belly very great and round, it holdeth full twelve gallons, and hath a tap-hole to drawe wine out thereat, the Jarre is very auncient, but whether it be one of them or no, I know not. The aire of Famagusta is very unwholesome, as they say, by reason of certaine marish ground adjoyning unto it. They have also a certaine yeerely sicknesse rainging in the same towne, above all the rest of the Island: yet neverthesse, they have it in other townes, but not so much. It is a certaine rednesse and paine of the eyes, the which if it bee not quickly holpen, it taketh away their sight, so that yeerely almost in that towne, they have about twentie that lose their sight, either of one eye or both, and it commeth for the most part in this moneth of October, and the last moneth: for I have met divers times three and foure at once in companies, both men and women. Their living is better cheape in Famagusta then in any other place of the Island, because there may no kinde of provision within their libertie bee solde out of the Citie.

The second of October we returned to Arnacho, where wee rested untill the sixt day. This towne is a pretie Village, there are thereby toward the Sea side divers monuments, that there hath bene great overthrow of buildings, for to this day there is no yere when they finde not, digging under ground, either coines, caves, and sepulchres of antiquities, as we walking, did see many, so that in effect, all alongst the Sea coast, throughout the whole Island, there is much ruine and overthrow of buildings: for as they say, it was disinhabited sixe and thirtie yeres, before Saint Helens time for lacke of water. And since that time it hath bene ruined and overthrown by Richard the first of that name, king of England, which he did in revenge of his sisters ravishment comming to Jerusalem, the which inforcement was done to her by the king of Famagusta.

The sixt day we rid to Nicosia, which is from Arnacho seven Cyprus miles, which are one and twentie Italian

miles. This is the ancientest citie of the Island, and is walled about, but it is not strong neither of walles nor situation: It is by report three Cyprus miles about, it is not throughly inhabited, but hath many great gardens in it, and also very many Date trees, and plentie of Pomegranates and other fruites. There dwell all the Gentilitie of the Island, and there hath every Cavallier or Conte of the Island an habitation. There is in this citie one fountaine rented by saint Marke, which is bound every eight dayes once, to water all the gardens in the towne, and the keeper of this fountaine hath for every tree a Bizantin, which is twelve soldes Venice, and six pence sterling. He that hath that to farme, with a faire and profitable garden thereto belonging, paieth every yeere to saint Marke, fiftene hundred crownes. The streetes of the citie are not paved, which maketh it with the quantitie of the gardens, to seeme but a rurall habitation. But there be many faire buildings in the Citie, there be also Monasteries both of Franks & Greekes. The Cathedrall church is called Santa Sophia, in the which there is an old tombe of Jaspis stone, all of one piece, made in forme of a cariage coffer, twelve spannes long, sixe spannes broad, and seven spannes high, which they say was found under ground. It is as faire a stone as ever I have scene.

The seventh day we rid to a Greeke Frierie halfe a mile without the towne. It is a very pleasaunt place, and the Friers feasted us according to their abilitie. These Friers are such as have bene Priests, and their wives dying they must become Friers of this place, and never after eate flesh, for if they do, they are deprived from saying masse: neither, after they have taken upon them this order, may they marry againe, but they may keepe a single woman. These Greekish Friers are very continent and chaste, and surely I have seldome seen (which I have well noted) any of them fat.

The 8. day we returned to Arnacho, and rested there. The 9. after midnight my company rid to the hill called Monte de la Croce (but I not disposed would not go) which hill is from Arnacho 15. Italian miles. Upon the sayd hill is a certaine crosse, which is, they say, a holy Crosse. This Crosse in times past did by their report of the Island, hang in the ayre, but by a certaine earthquake, the crosse and the chappell it hung in, were overthrowen, so that never since it would hang againe

in the aire. But it is now covered with silver, and hath 3. drops of our lordes blood on it (as they say) and there is in the midst of the great crosse, a little crosse made of the crosse of Christ, but it is closed in the silver, you must (if you will) beleeeve it is so, for see it you cannot. This crosse hangeth nowe by both endes in the wall, that you may swing it up and downe, in token that it did once hang in the aire. This was told mee by my fellow pilgrimes, for I sawe it not.

The 10. at night we went aboard by warning of the patron : and the 11. in the morning we set saile, and crept along the shore, but at night we ankered by reason of contrary windes.

The 12. we set saile toward Limisso, which is from Salines 50. miles, and there we went on land that night.

The 13. and 14. we remained still on land, and the 15. the patrone sent for us ; but by reason that one of our company was not well, we went not presently, but we were forced afterward to hire a boate, and to overtake the ship tenne miles into the sea. At this Limisso all the Venetian ships lade wine for their provision, and some for to sell, and also vineger. They lade also great store of Carrobi : for all the countrey thereabout adjoining, and all the mountaines are full of Carrobi trees, they lade also cotton wooll there. In the sayd towne we did see a certaine foule of the land (whereof there are many in this Island) named in the Italian tongue Vulture. It is a fowle that is as big as a Swanne, and it liveth upon carion. The skinne is full of soft doune, like to a fine furre, which they use to occupie when they have evill stomacks, and it maketh good digestion. This bird (as they say) will eate as much at one meale as shall serve him fortie dayes after, and within the compasse of that time careth for no more meate. The countrey people, when they have any dead beast, they cary it into the mountaines, or where they suppose the sayd Vultures to haunt, they seeing the carion doe immediately greedily seaze upon it, and doe so ingraft their talents, that they cannot speedily rise agayne, by reason whereof the people come and kill them : sometimes they kill them with dogs, and somtimes with such weapons as they have. This foule is very great and hardy, much like an Eagle in the feathers of her wings and backe, but under her great feathers she is onely doune, her necke also long and full

of doune. She hath on the necke bone, betweene the necke and the shoulders, a heape of fethers like a Tassell, her thighs unto her knees are covered with doune, her legs strong and great, and dareth with her talents assault a man. They have also in this Island a certaine small bird, much like unto a Wagtaile in fethers and making, these are so extreme fat that you can perceive nothing els in all their bodies: these birds are now in season. They take great quantitie of them, and they use to pickle them with vineger and salt, and to put them in pots and send them to Venice and other places of Italy for presents of great estimation. They say they send almost 1200. Jarres or pots to Venice, besides those which are consumed in the Island, which are a great number. These are so plentiful that when there is no shipping, you may buy them for 10. Carchies, which coine are 4. to a Venetian Soldo, which is peny farthing the dozen, and when there is store of shipping, 2. pence the dozen, after that rate of their money. They of the limites of Fama-gusta do keep the statutes of ye Frenchmen which sometimes did rule there. And the people of Nicosia observe the order of the Genoueses, who sometimes also did rule them. All this day we lay in the sea with little wind.

The 16. we met a Venetian ship, and they willing to speake with us, and we with them, made towards each other, but by reason of the evil stirrage of the other ship, we had almost boorded each other to our great danger. Toward night we ankered under Cavo Bianco, but because the winde grew faire, we set saile againe presently.

The 17. 18. 19. and 20. we were at sea with calme sommer weather, and the 20. we had some raine, and saw another Cion in the element. This day also we sawe, and spake with a Venetian ship called el Bonna, bound for Ciprus.

The 21. we sailed with a reasonable gale, and saw no land until the 4. of November. This day we had raine, thunder, lightening, and much wind and stormie weather, but God be praised we escaped all dangers.

The 4. of November, we had first sight of the Island of Candia, and we fell with the Islands called Gozi, by South of Candia. This day departed this present life, one of our company named Anthonie Gelber of Prussia, who onely tooke his surfet of Cyprus wine. This night we

determined to ride a trie, because the wind was contrary, and the weather troublesome.

The 5. we had very rough stormie weather. This day was the sayd Anthonie Gelber sowed in a Chavina filled with stones and throwen into the sea. By reason of the freshnes of the wind we would have made toward the shore, but the wind put us to the sea, where we endured a great storme and a troublesome night.

The 6. 7. and 8. we were continually at the sea, & this day at noone the wind came faire, whereby we recovered the way which we had lost, and sailed out of sight of Candia.

The 9. we sailed all day with a prosperous wind after 14. mile an houre: and the 10. in the morning, wee had sight of Cavo Matapan, and by noone of Cavo Gallo, in Morea, with which land we made by reason of contrary wind, likewise we had sight of Modon, under the which place we ankered. This Modon is a strong towne, and built in the sea, and joineth on the North side to the land. It hath a litle castle built into the sea, with a peere for litle ships and galleis to harbour in. It hath on the South side of the chanell, the Island of Sapientia, with other litle Islands all disinhabited. The chanell lieth Southwest and Northeast betweene the Islands and Morea, which is firme land. This Modon was built by the Venetians, but as some say it was taken from them by force of the Turke, and others say by composition: in like case Coron, and Napolis de Romania, which is also in Morea. This night the Flemmish pilgrimes being drunke would have slaine the patrone because he ankered here.

The 11. day we set saile againe, and as we passed by Modon, we saluted them with ordinance, for they that passe by this place, must salute with ordinance, (if they have) or els by striking their top sailes, for if they doe not, the towne will shoot at them. This day toward 2. of the clocke wee passed by the Island of Prodeno, which is but litle, and desert, under the Turke. About 2. houres before night, we had sight of the Islands of Zante and Cephalonia, which are from Modon one hundreth miles.

The 12. day in the morning, with the wind at West, we doubled between Castle Torneste, and the Island of Zante. This castle is on the firme land under the Turke.



This night we ankred afore the towne of Zante, where we that night went on land, and rested there the 13. 14. and 15. at night we were warned aboard by the patrone. This night the ship tooke in vitailles and other necessities.

The 16. in the morning we set saile with a prosperous wind, and the 17. we had sight of Cavo de santa Maria in Albania, on our right hand, and Corfu on the left hand. This night we ankred before the castles of Corfu, and went on land and refreshed our selves.

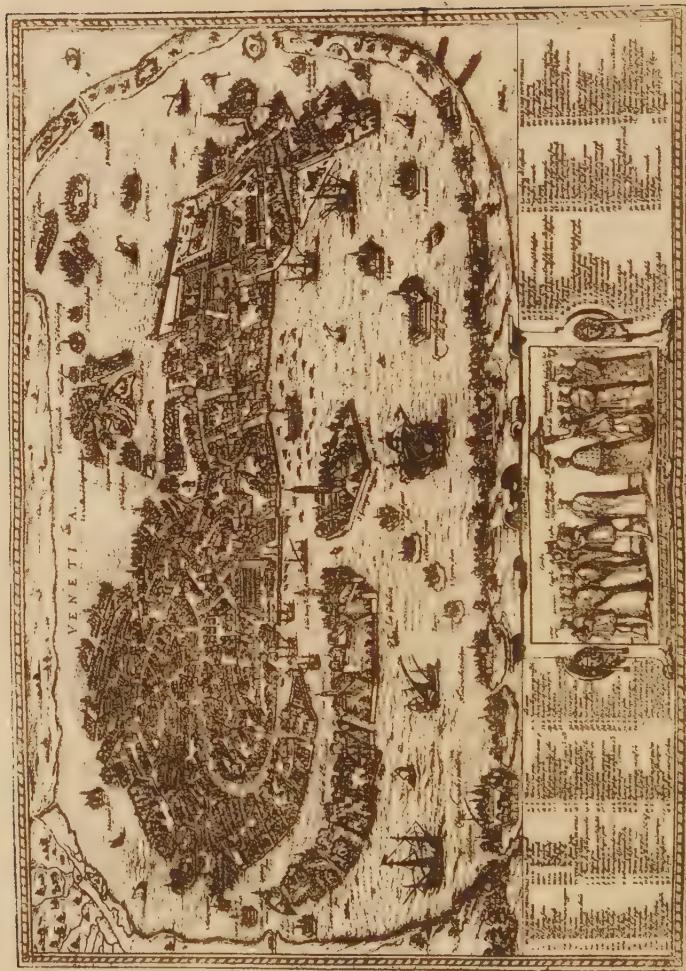
The 18. by meanes of a friend we were licenced to enter the castle or fortresse of Corfu, which is not onely of situation the strongest I have seene, but also of edification. It hath for the Inner warde two strong castles situated on the top of two high craggess of a rocke, a bowe shoot distant the one from the other: the rocke is unassailable, for the second warde it hath strong walles, with rampiers and trenches, made as well as any arte can devise. For the third warde and uttermost, it hath very strong walles with rampires of the rocke it selfe cut out by force, and trenched about with the Sea. The bulwarkes of the uttermost warde are not yet finished, which are in number but two: there are continually in the castle seven hundred souldiours. Also it hath continually foure wardes, to wit, for the land entrie one, for the sea entrie another, and two other wardes. Artillerie and other munition of defence alwayes readie planted it hath sufficient, besides the store remaining in their storehouses. The Venetians hold this for the key of all their dominions, and for strength it may be no lesse. This Island is very fruitfull and plentifull of wine and corne very good, and olives great store. This Island is parted from Albania with a chanell, in some places eight and ten, and in other but three miles. Albania is under the Turke, but in it are many Christians. All the horsemen of Corfu are Albaneses; the Island is not above 80. or 90. miles in compasse.

The 19. 20. and 21. we remained in the towne of Corfu.

The 22. day wee went aboard and set saile, the wind being very calme wee toed the ship all that day, and toward Sunne set, the castle sent a Fragatta unto us, to give us warning of three Foistes comming after us, for whose comming wee prepared and watched all night, but they came not.



From "Civitates  
Orbis Terrarum"  
(1573)  
by G. Braun and  
F. Hogenberg



VENICE

The 23. day in the morning being calme, wee toed out of the Streight, untill wee came to the olde towne, whereof there is nothing standing but the walles. There is also a new Church of the Greekes called Santa Maria di Cassopo, and the townes name is called Cassopo. It is a good porte. About noone wee passed the Streight, and drew toward the ende of the Island, having almost no wind. This night after supper, by reason of a certaine Hollander that was drunke, there arose in the ship such a troublesome disturbance, that all the ship was in an uprore with weapons, and had it not bene rather by Gods helpe, and the wisdom and patience of the patrone, more then by our procurement, there had bene that night a great slaughter. But as God would, there was no hurt, but onely the beginner was put under hatches, and with the fall hurt his face very sore. All this night the wind blew at Southeast, and sent us forward.

The 24. in the morning wee found our selves before an Island called Saseno, which is in the entrie to Valona, and the wind prosperous.

The 25. day we were before the hils of Antiveri, and about sunne set wee passed Ragusa, and three houres within night we ankered within Meleda, having Sclavonia or Dalmatia on the right hand of us, and the winde Southwest.

The 26 in the morning we set sayle, and passed the channell between Sclavonia and Meleda, which may be eight mile over at the most. This Iland is under the Raguses. At after noone with a hard gale at west and by north we entered the channell betweene the Iland Curzola and the hilles of Dalmatia, in the which channell be many rockes, and the channell not past 3 miles over, and we ankered before the towne of Curzola. This is a pretie towne walled about and built upon the sea side, having on the toppe of a round hill a faire Church. This Iland is under the Venetians, there grow very good vines, also that part toward Dalmatia is well peopled and husbanded, especially for wines. In the said Iland we met with the Venetian armie, to wit, tenne gallies, and three foystes. All that night we remained there.

The 27 we set sayle and passed along the Iland, and towards afternoone we passed in before the Iland of Augusta, and about sunne set before the towne of Lesina, whereas I am informed by the Italians, they take all

the Sardinias that they spend in Italy. This day we had a prosperous winde at Southeast. The Iland of Lesina is under the Venetians, a very fruitfull Iland adjoyning to the maine of Dalmatia, we left it on our right hand, and passed along.

The 28 in the morning we were in the Gulfe of Quernero, and about two houres after noone we were before the cape of Istria, and at sunne set we were at anker afore Rovignio which is also in Istria and under the Venetians, where all ships Venetian and others are bound by order from Venice to take in their Pilots to goe for Venice. All the sommer the Pilots lie at Rovignio, and in winter at Parenzo, which is from Rovignio 18 miles by West.

The 29 we set sayle and went as farre as Parenzo, and ankered there that day, and went no further.

The 30 in the morning we rowed to Sant Nicolo a litle Iland hard by uninhabited, but only it hath a Monastery, & is full of Olive trees, after masse wee returned and went aboard. This day the patron hired a Barke to imbarke the pilgrims for Venice, but they departed not. In the afternoone we went to see the towne of Parenzo, it is a pretie handsome towne, under the Venetians. After supper wee imbarked our selves againe, and that night wee sayled towards Venice.

The first of December we past a towne of the Venetians, standing on the entery to the Palude or marshes of Venice: which towne is called Caorle, and by contrary windes we were driven thither to take port. This is 60 miles from Parenzo, and forty from Venice, there we remayned that night.

The second two houres before day, with the winde at Southeast, we sayled towards Venice, where we arrived (God be praysed) at two of the clocke after dinner, and landed about foure, we were kept so long from landing, because we durst not land untill we had presented to the Providor de la Sanita, our letter of health.

The safeconduct or priviledge given by Sultan Solyman the great Turke, to master Anthony Jenkinson at Aleppo in Syria, in the yeere 1553.

SULTAN SOLYMAN, &c. to all Viceroyes, Saniaques, Cadies, and other our Justicers, Officers, and subjects of Tripolis in Syria, Constantinople, Alexandria in Ægypt, and of



all other townes and cities under our dominion and jurisdiction : We will and commaund you, that when you shall see Anthony Jenkinson, bearer of these present letters, merchant of London in England, or his factor, or any other bearing the sayd letter for him, arrive in our ports and havens, with his ship or ships, or other vessels whatsoever, that you suffer him to lade or unlade his merchandise wheresoever it shall seeme good unto him, traffiking for himselfe in all our countreys and dominions, without hindering or any way disturbing of him, his ship, his people or merchandise, and without enforcing him to pay any other custome or toll whatsoever, in any sort, or to any persons whatsoever they be, save onely our ordinarie duties contained in our custome houses, which when he hath paid, we will that he be franke and free, as well for himselfe as for his people, merchandise, ship or ships, and all other vessels whatsoever : and in so doing that he may traffike, bargaine, sell and buy, lade and unlade, in all our foresayd Countreys, lands and dominions, in like sort, and with the like liberties and priviledges, as the Frenchmen and Venetians use, and enjoy, and more if it bee possible, without the hinderance or impeachment of any man. And furthermore, wee charge and commaund all Viceroyes, and Consuls of the French nation, and of the Venetians, and all other Consuls resident in our Countreys, in what port or province soever they be, not to constraine, or cause to constraine by them, or the sayd Ministers and Officers whatsoever they be, the sayd Anthony Jenkinson, or his factor, or his servaunts, or deputies, or his merchandise, to pay any kind of consullage, or other right whatsoever, or to intermeddle or hinder his affaires, and not to molest nor trouble him any maner of way, because our will and pleasure is, that he shall not pay in all our Countreys, any other then our ordinarie custome. And in case any man hinder and impeach him, above, and besides these our present letters, wee charge you most expresly to defend and assist him agaynst the sayd Consuls, and if they will not obey our present commandement, that you advertise us thereof, that we may take such order for the same, that others may take example thereby. Moreover, we commaund all our Captaines of our Gallies, and their Lieutenants, be they Foistes or other Vessels, that when they shall finde the sayd Jenkinson, or his factor, his ship or ships, with

his servaunts and merchandise, that they hurt him not neither in body nor goods, but that rather they assist and defend him agaynst all such as seeke to doe him wrong, and that they ayde and helpe him with vitailles, according to his want, and that whosoever shall see these presents, obey the same, as they will avoyd the penaltie in doing the contrary. Made in Aleppo of Syria, the yeere 961. of our holy prophet Mahomet, and in the yeere of Jesus, 1553. signed with the scepter and signet of the grand Signior, with his owne proper hand.

The woorthy enterprise of John Foxe an Englishman in delivering 266. Christians out of the captivitie of the Turkes at Alexandria, the 3. of Januarie 1577.

AMONG our merchants here in England, it is a common voiage to traffike into Spaine: whereunto a ship, being called The three halfe Moones, manned with 38. men, and well fensed with munitions, the better to encounter their enemies withall, and having wind & tide, set from Portsmouth, 1563. and bended her journey toward Sivill a citie in Spaine, intending there to trafique with them. And falling neere the Streights, they perceived themselves to be beset round with eight gallies of the Turkes, in such wise, that there was no way for them to flie or escape away, but that either they must yeeld or else be sunke. Which the owner perceiving, manfully encouraged his company, exhorting them valiantly to shew their manhood, shewing them that God was their God, and not their enemies, requesting them also not to faint in seeing such a heape of their enemies ready to devour them; putting them in mind also, that if it were Gods pleasure to give them into their enemies hands, it was not they y<sup>t</sup> ought to shew one displeasent looke or countenance there-against; but to take it patiently, & not to prescribe a day and time for their deliverance, as the citizens of Bethulia did, but to put themselves under his mercy. And againe, if it were his mind and good will to shew his mighty power by them, if their enemies were ten times so many, they were not able to stand in their hands; putting them likewise in mind of the old and ancient woorthinesse of their countrey men, who in the hardest extremities have alwayes most prevailed and gone away conquerors, yea, and where it hath bene almost impossible. Such (quoth he) hath

bene the valiantnesse of our countrey men, and such hath bene the mightie power of our God.

With other like encouragements, exhorting them to behave themselves manfully, they fell all on their knees making their prayers briefly unto God: who being all risen up againe perceived their enemies by their signes and defiances bent to the spoyle, whose mercy was nothing els but crueltie, whereupon every man tooke him to his weapon.

Then stood up one Grove the master, being a comely man, with his sword and target, holding them up in defiance agaynst his enemies. So likewise stood up the Owner, the Masters mate, Boateswaine, Purser, and every man well appointed. Nowe likewise sounded up the drums, trumpets and flutes, which would have encouraged any man, had he never so litle heart or courage in him.

Then taketh him to his charge John Foxe the gunner in the disposing of his pieces in order to the best effect, and sending his bullets towards the Turkes, who likewise bestowed their pieces thrise as fast toward the Christians. But shortly they drew neere, so that the bowmen fel to their charge in sending forth their arrowes so thicke amongst the Gallies, & also in doubling their shot so sore upon the gallies, that there were twice so many of the Turkes slaine, as the number of the Christians were in all. But the Turks discharged twice as fast against the Christians, & so long, that the ship was very sore stricken & bruised under water. Which the Turkes perceiving, made the more haste to come aboard the Shippe: which ere they could doe, many a Turke bought it deerely with the losse of their lives. Yet was all in vaine, and boorded they were, where they found so hote a skirmish, that it had bene better they had not medled with the feast. For the Englishmen shewed themselves men in deed, in working manfully with their browne bills and halbardes: where the owner, master, boateswaine, and their company stode to it so lustily, that the Turkes were halfe dismaied. But chiefly the boateswaine shewed himself valiant above the rest: for he fared amongst the Turkes like a wood Lion: for there was none of them that either could or durst stand in his face, till at the last there came a shot from the Turkes, which brake his whistle asunder, and smote him on the brest, so that he fell downe, bidding them farewell, & to be of good comfort, encouraging them

likewise to winne praise by death, rather then to live captives in misery and shame. Which they hearing, in deed intended to have done, as it appeared by their skirmish: but the prease and store of the Turkes was so great, that they were not able long to endure, but were so overpressed, that they could not wield their weapons: by reason whereof, they must needs be taken, which none of them intended to have bene, but rather to have died: except onely the masters mate, who shrunk from the skirmish, like a notable coward, esteeming neither the valure of his name, nor accounting of the present example of his fellowes, nor having respect to the miseries, whereunto he should be put. But in fine, so it was, that the Turks were victors, whereof they had no great cause to rejoyce, or triumph. Then would it have grieved any hard heart to see these Infidels so violently intreating the Christians, not having any respect of their manhood which they had tasted of, nor yet respecting their owne state, how they might have met with such a bootie, as might have given them the overthrow: but no remorse hereof, or any thing els doth bridle their fierce and tyrannous dealing, but that the Christians must needs to the gallies, to serve in new offices: and they were no sooner in them, but their garments were pulled over their eares, and torne from their backs, and they set to the oares.

I will make no mention of their miseries, being now under their enemies raging stripes. I thinke there is no man wil judge their fare good, or their bodies unladen of stripes, and not pestered with too much heate, and also with too much cold: but I will goe to my purpose, which is, to shew the ende of those, being in meere miserie, which continually doe call on God with a stedfast hope that he will deliver them, and with a sure faith that he can doe it.

Nigh to the citie of Alexandria, being a haven towne, and under the dominion of the Turkes, there is a roade, being made very fensible with strong wals, whereinto the Turkes doe customably bring their gallies on shoare every yeere, in the winter season, and there doe trimme them, and lay them up against the spring time. In which road there is a prison, wherein the captives & such prisoners as serve in the gallies, are put for all that time, untill the seas be calme and passable for the gallies, every prisoner being most grievously laden with irons on their legges,

to their great paine, and sore disabling of them to any labour taking. Into which prison were these Christians put, and fast warded all the Winter season. But ere it was long, the Master and the Owner, by meanes of friends, were redeemed: the rest abiding still by the miserie, while that they were all (through reason of their ill usage and worse fare, miserably starved) saving one John Fox, who (as some men can abide harder and more miserie, then other some can, so can some likewise make more shift, and worke more devises to helpe their state and living, then other some can doe) being somewhat skilfull in the craft of a Barbour, by reason thereof made great shift in helping his fare now and then with a good meale. Insomuch, til at the last, God sent him favour in the sight of the keeper of the prison, so that he had leave to goe in and out to the road, at his pleasure, paying a certaine stipend unto the keeper, and wearing a locke about his leg: which libertie likewise, sixe more had upon like sufferance: who by reason of their long imprisonment, not being feared or suspected to start aside, or that they would worke the Turkes any mischief, had libertie to go in and out at the sayd road, in such maner, as this John Fox did, with irons on their legs, and to returne againe at night.

In the yeere of our Lord 1577. in the Winter season, the gallies happily comming to their accustomed harborow, and being discharged of all their mastes, sailes, and other such furnitures, as unto gallies doe appertaine, and all the Masters and mariners of them being then nested in their owne homes: there remained in the prison of the said road two hundred threescore and eight Christian prisoners, who had bene taken by the Turks force, and were of sixteen sundry nations. Among which there were three Englishmen, whereof one was named John Foxe of Woodbridge in Suffolke, the other William Wickney of Portsmouth, in the Countie of Southhampton, and the third Robert Moore of Harwich in the Countie of Essex. Which John Fox having bene thirteene or foureteene yeres under their gentle entreatance, and being too too weary thereof, minding his escape, weighed with himselfe by what meanes it might be brought to passe: and continually pondering with himself thereof, tooke a good heart unto him, in hope that God would not be alwayes scourging his children, and never ceased to pray him to



further his pretended enterprise, if that it should redound to his glory.

Not farre from the road, and somewhat from thence, at one side of the Citie, there was a certaine victualling house, which one Peter Uticaro had hired, paying also a certaine fee unto the keeper of the road. This Peter Uticaro was a Spaniard borne, and a Christian, and had bene prisoner about thirtie yeeres, and never practised any meanes to escape, but kept himselfe quiet without touch or suspect of any conspiracie: untill that nowe this John Foxe using much thither, they brake one to another their mindes, concerning the restraint of their libertie and imprisonment. So that this John Fox at length opening unto this Uticaro the devise which he would faine put in practise, made privie one more to this their intent. Which three debated of this matter at such times as they could compasse to meete together: inso-much, that at seven weekes ende they had sufficiently concluded how the matter should be, if it pleased God to farther them thereto: who making five more privie to this their devise, whom they thought they might safely trust, determined in three nights after to accomplish their deliberate purpose. Whereupon the same John Fox, and Peter Uticaro, and the other sixe appointed to meete all together in the prison the next day, being the last day of December: where this John Fox certified the rest of the prisoners, what their intent and devise was, and how and when they minded to bring their purpose to passe: who thereunto perswaded them without much a doe to further their devise. Which the same John Fox seeing, delivered unto them a sort of files, which he had gathered together for this purpose, by the meanes of Peter Uticaro, charging them that every man should be readie discharged of his yrons by eight of the clocke on the next day at night.

On the next day at night, this said John Fox, and his sixe other companions, being all come to the house of Peter Uticaro, passing the time away in mirth for feare of suspect, till the night came on, so that it was time for them to put in practise their devise, sent Peter Uticaro to the master of the roade, in the name of one of the Masters of the citie, with whom this keeper was acquainted, and at whose request he also would come at the first: who desired him to take the paines to meete

him there, promising him, that he would bring him backe againe. The keeper agreed to goe with him, willing the warders not to barre the gate, saying, that he would not stay long, but would come againe with all speede.

In the meane season, the other seven had provided them of such weapons, as they could get in that house: and John Fox tooke him to an olde rustie sword blade, without either hilt or pomell, which he made to serve his turne, in bending the hand ende of the sword, in steed of a pomell, and the other had got such spits and glaives as they found in the house.

The keeper now being come unto the house, and perceiving no light, nor hearing any noyse, straightway suspected the matter: and returning backward, John Fox standing behind the corner of the house, stepped forth unto him: who perceiving it to be John Fox, saide, O Fox, what have I deserved of thee, that thou shouldst seeke my death? Thou villaine (quoth Fox) hast bene a bloodsucker of many a Christians blood, and now thou shalt know what thou hast deserved at my handes: where-with he lift up his bright shining sword of tenne yeeres rust, and stroke him so maine a blowe, as therewithall his head clave a sunder, so that he fell starke dead to the ground. Whereupon Peter Unticaro went in, and certified the rest how the case stood with the keeper: who came presently forth, and some with their spits ranne him through, and the other with their glaives hewed him in sunder, cut off his head, and mangled him so, that no man should discerne what he was.

Then marched they toward the roade, whereinto they entered softly, where were six warders, whom one of them asked, saying, who was there? quoth Fox & his company, all friendes. Which when they were all within, proved contrary: for, quoth Fox, my masters, here is not to every man a man, wherefore looke you play your parts. Who so behaved themselves in deede, that they had dispatched these sixe quickly. Then John Fox intending not to be barred of his enterprise, and minding to worke surely in that which he went about, barred the gate surely, and planted a Canon against it.

Then entred they into the Gailers lodge, where they found the keyes of the fortresse & prison by his bed side, and there had they all better weapons. In this chamber was a chest, wherein was a rich treasure, and all in

duckats, which this Peter Unticaro, & two more, opening, stuffed themselves so full as they could, betweene their shirts and their skinne: which John Fox would not once touch, and sayde, that it was his and their libertie which he sought for, to the honour of his God, & not to make a marte of the wicked treasure of the Infidels. Yet did these words sinke nothing into their stomakes, they did it for a good intent: so did Saul save the fattest Oxen, to offer unto the Lord, and they to serve their owne turne. But neither did Saul scape the wrath of God therefore, neither had these that thing which they desired so, and did thirst after. Such is Gods justice. He that they put their trust in, to deliver them from the tyrannous hands of their enemies, he (I say) could supply their want of necessaries.

Nowe these eight being armed with such weapons as they thought well of, thinking themselves sufficient champions to encounter a stronger enemy, and comming unto the prison, Fox opened the gates and doores thereof, and called forth all the prisoners, whom he set, some to ramming up the gate, some to the dressing up of a certaine gallie, which was the best in all the roade, and was called the captaine of Alexandria, whereinto some caried mastes, sailes, oares, and other such furniture as doth belong unto a gallie.

At the prison were certaine warders, whom John Fox and his companie slewe: in the killing of whom, there were eight more of the Turkes, which perceived them, and got them to the toppe of the prison: unto whom John Fox, and his company, were faine to come by ladders, where they found a hot skirmish. For some of them were there slaine, some wounded, and some but scarred, and not hurt. As John Fox was thrise shot through his apparell, and not hurt, Peter Unticaro, and the other two, that had armed them with the duckats, were slaine, as not able to weild themselves, being so pestered with the weight and uneasie carying of the wicked and prophane treasure: and also diverse Christians were aswell hurt about that skirmish, as Turkes slaine.

Amongst the Turkes was one thrust thorowe, who (let us not say that it was ill fortune) fell off from the toppe of the prison wall, and made such a lowing, that the inhabitants thereabout (as here and there scattering stoode a house or two) came and daved him, so that

they understood the case, how that the prisoners were paying their ransomes: wherewith they raised both Alexandria which lay on the west side of the roade, and a Castle which was at the Cities end, next to the roade, and also an other Fortresse which lay on the Northside of the roade: so that nowe they had no way to escape, but one, which by mans reason (the two holdes lying so upon the mouth of the roade) might seeme impossible to be a way for them. So was the red sea impossible for the Israelites to passe through, the hils and rockes lay so on the one side, and their enemies compassed them on the other. So was it impossible, that the wals of Jericho should fall downe, being neither undermined, nor yet rammed at with engines, nor yet any mans wisdom, pollicie, or helpe set or put thereunto. Such impossibilities can our God make possible. He that helde the Lyons jawes from renting Daniel asunder, yea, or yet from once touching him to his hurt: can not he hold the roring canons of this hellish force? He that kept the fiers rage in the hot burning Oven, from the three children, that praised his name, can not he keepe the fiers flaming blastes from among his elect?

Now is the roade fraught with lustie souldiers, laborers, and mariners, who are faine to stand to their tackling, in setting to every man his hand, some to the carying in of victuals, some munitions, some oares, and some one thing, some another, but most are keeping their enemy from the wall of the road. But to be short, there was no time mispent, no man idle, nor any mans labour ill bestowed, or in vaine. So that in short time, this gally was ready trimmed up. Whereinto every man leaped in all haste, hoysing up the sayles lustily, yeelding themselves to his mercie and grace, in whose hands are both winde and weather.

Now is this gally on flote, and out of the safetie of the roade: now have the two Castles full power upon the gally, now is there no remedy but to sinke: how can it be avoided? The canons let flie from both sides, and the gally is even in the midst, and betweene them both. What man can devise to save it? there is no man, but would thinke it must needs be sunke.

There was not one of them that feared the shotte, which went thundring round about their eares, nor yet were once scarred or touched, with five & forty shot, which

came from the Castles. Here did God hold forth his buckler, he shieldeth now this gally, and hath tried their faith to the uttermost. Now commeth his speciall helpe: yea, even when man thinks them past all helpe, then commeth he himselfe downe from heaven with his mightie power, then is his present remedie most readie prest. For they saile away, being not once touched with the glaunce of a shot, and are quickly out of the Turkish canons reach. Then might they see them comming downe by heapes to the water side, in companies like unto swarmes of bees, making shew to come after them with gallies, in bustling themselves to dresse up the gallies, which would be a swift peece of worke for them to doe, for that they had neither oares, mastes, sailes, gables, nor any thing else ready in any gally. But yet they are carying them into them, some into one gally, and some into another, so that, being such a confusion amongst them, without any certaine guide, it were a thing impossible to overtake them: beside that, there was no man that would take charge of a gally, the weather was so rough, and there was such an amasednes amongst them. And verely I thinke their God was amased thereat: it could not be but he must blush for shame, he can speake never a word for dulnes, much lesse can he helpe them in such an extremitie. Well, howsoever it is, he is very much to blame, to suffer them to receive such a gibe. But howsoever their God behaved himselfe, our God shewed himselfe a God indeed, and that he was the onely living God: for the seas were swift under his faithfull, which made the enemies agast to behold them, a skilfuller Pilot leads them, and their mariners bestirre them lustily: but the Turkes had neither mariners, Pilot, nor any skilfull Master, that was in a readinesse at this pinch.

When the Christians were safe out of the enemies coast, John Fox called to them all, willing them to be thankfull unto almighty God for their deliverie, and most humbly to fall downe upon their knees, beseeching him to aide them unto their friends land, and not to bring them into an other daunger, sith hee had most mightily delivered them from so great a thraldome and bondage.

Thus when every man had made his petition, they fell straight way to their labour with the oares, in helping one another, when they were wearied, and with great labour striving to come to some Christian land, as neere as they



could gesse by the starres. But the windes were so divers, one while driving them this way, another while that way, that they were now in a new maze, thinking that God had forsaken them, and left them to a greater danger. And forasmuch as there were no victuals now left in the gally, it might have beene a cause to them (if they had beene the Israelites) to have murmured against their God: but they knew how that their God, who had delivered them out of Ægypt, was such a loving and mercifull God, as that hee would not suffer them to be confounded, in whom he had wrought so great a wonder: but what calamitie soever they sustained, they knew it was but for their further triall, and also (in putting them in mind of their farther miserie) to cause them not to triumph and glory in themselves therefore. Having (I say) no victuals in the gally, it might seeme that one miserie continually fel upon an others neck: but to be briefe, the famine grew to be so great, that in 28 dayes, wherein they were on the sea, there died eight persons, to the astonishment of all the rest.

So it fell out, that upon the 29 day, after they set from Alexandria, they fell on the Isle of Candie, and landed at Gallipoli, where they were made much of by the Abbot and Monks there, who caused them to stay there, while they were well refreshed and eased. They kept there the sworde, wherewith John Fox had killed the keeper, esteeming it as a most precious jewell, and hung it up for a monument.

When they thought good, having leave to depart from thence, they sayled along the coast, till they arrived at Tarento, where they solde their gallie, and devided it, every man having a part thereof. The Turkes receiving so shamefull a foile at their hand, pursued the Christians, and scoured the seas, where they could imagine that they had bent their course. And the Christians had departed from thence on the one day in the morning, and seven gallies of the Turkes came thither that night, as it was certified by those who followed Fox, and his companie, fearing least they should have bene met with. And then they came a foote to Naples, where they departed a sunder, every man taking him to his next way home. From whence John Fox tooke his journey unto Rome, where he was well entertayned of an Englishman, who presented his worthy deede unto the Pope, who rewarded

him liberally, and gave him his letters unto the king of Spaine, where he was very well entertained of him there, who for this his most worthy enterprise gave him in fee twentie pence a day. From whence, being desirous to come into his owne countrie, he came thither at such time as he conveniently could, which was in the yeere of our Lorde God, 1579. Who being come into England, went unto the Court, and shewed all his travell unto the Councill: who considering of the state of this man, in that hee had spent and lost a great part of his youth in thraldome and bondage, extended to him their liberalitie, to helpe to maintaine him now in age, to their right honour, and to the incouragement of all true hearted Christians.

The copie of the certificate for John Fox, and his companie, made by the Prior, and the brethren of Gallipoli, where they first landed.

WE the Prior, and Fathers of the Covent of the Amerciates, of the city of Gallipoli, of the order of Preachers doe testifie, that upon the 29 of January last past, 1577, there came in to the said citie a certaine gally from Alexandria, taken from the Turkes, with two hundreth fiftie and eight Christians, whereof was principal Master John Fox, an Englishman, a gunner, and one of the chiefeest that did accomplish that great worke, whereby so many Christians have recovered their liberties. In token and remembrance whereof, upon our earnest request to the same John Fox, he hath left here an olde sworde, wherewith he slewe the keeper of the prison: which sword we doe as a monument and memoriall of so worthy a deede, hang up in the chiefe place of our Covent house. And for because all things aforesaid, are such as we will testifie to be true, as they are orderly passed, and have therefore good credite, that so much as is above expressed is true, and for the more faith thereof, we the Prior, and Fathers aforesaide, have ratified and subscribed these presents. Geven in Gallipoly, the third of Februarie 1577.

I Frier Vincent Barba, Prior of the same place, confirme the premisses, as they are above written.

I Frier Albert Damaro, of Gallipoly, Subprior, confirme as much.

- I Frier Anthony Celleler of Gallipoly, confirme as aforesaid.
- I Frier Bartlemew of Gallipoly, confirme as above said.
- I Frier Francis of Gallipoly, confirme as much.

The Bishop of Rome his letters in the behalfe of  
John Fox.

BE it knowen unto all men, to whom this writing shall come, that the bringer hereof John Fox Englishman, a Gunner, after he had served captive in the Turkes gallies, by the space of fourteene yeeres, at length, thorough God his helpe, taking good oportunitie, the third of Januarie last past, slew the keeper of the prison, (whom he first stroke on the face) together with foure and twentie other Turkes, by the assistance of his fellow prisoners: and with 266. Christians (of whose libertie he was the author) launched from Alexandria, and from thence arrived first at Gallipoly in Candie, and afterwardes at Tarento in Apulia: the written testimony and credite of which things, as also of others, the same John Fox hath in publike tables from Naples.

Upon Easter eve he came to Rome, and is now determined to take his journey to the Spanish Court, hoping there to obtaine some reliefe toward his living: wherefore the poore distressed man humbly beseecheth, and we in his behalfe do in the bowels of Christ, desire you, that taking compassion of his former captivitie, and present penurie, you doe not onely suffer him freely to passe throughout all your cities and townes, but also succour him with your charitable almes, the reward whereof you shall hereafter most assuredly receive, which we hope you will afford to him, whom with tender affection of pitie wee commende unto you. At Rome, the 20 of Aprill 1577.

Thomas Grolos Englishman Bishop of Astraphen.

Richard Silleum Prior Angliæ.

Andreas Ludovicus Register to our Soveraigne Lord the Pope, which for the greater credit of the premises, have set my seale to these presents. At Rome, the day and yeere above written.

Mauricius Clement the governour and keeper of the English Hospitall in the citie.

The King of Spaine his letters to the Lieutenant, for the placing of John Fox in the office of a Gunner.

To the illustrious Prince, Vespasian Gonsaga Colonna, our Lieutenant and Captaine Generall of our Realme of Valentia. Having consideration, that John Fox Englishman hath served us, and was one of the most principall, which tooke away from the Turkes a certaine gallie, which they have brought to Tarento, wherein were two hundred, fiftie, and eight Christian captives: we licence him to practise, and give him the office of a Gunner, and have ordained, that he goe to our said Realme, there to serve in the said office in the Gallies, which by our commandement are lately made. And we doe commaund, that you cause to be payed to him eight ducats pay a moneth, for the time that he shall serve in the saide Gallies as a Gunner, or till we can otherwise provide for him, the saide eight duckats monethly of the money which is already of our provision, present and to come, and to have regarde of those which come with him. From Escuriall the tenth of August, 1577.

I the King.

Juan del Gado.

And under that a confirmation of the Councill.

The renuing and increasing of an ancient and commodious trade unto diverse places in the Levant seas, and to the chieftest partes of all the great Turkes dominions, by the meanes of the Right worsh. citizens Sir Edward Osburne Alderman, and M. Richard Staper marchant of London.

THIS trade into the Levant (as is before mentioned, page 2 of this present volume, whereunto I referre the Reader) was very usuall and much frequented from the yeere of our Lord 1511, till the yeere 1534, and afterward also, though not so commonly, untill the yeere 1550, when as the barke Aucher under the conduct of M. Roger Bodenhams made a prosperous voyage unto Sicilia, Candia, Sio, and other places within the Levant. Since which time the foresaid trade (notwithstanding the Grand Signiors ample privilege granted to M. Anthony Jenkenson 1553, and the strong and weighty reasons of Gaspar Campion



## THE SULTAN SOLYMAN

*From the picture by Melchoir Lorich  
in the British Museum*





for that purpose) was utterly discontinued, and in maner quite forgotten, as if it had never bene, for the space of 20 yeares and more. Howbeit the discrete and worthy citizens Sir Edward Osborne and M. Richard Staper seriously considering what benefite might grow to the common wealth by renuing of the foresaid discontinued trade, to the inlarging of her Majesties customes, the furthering of navigation, the venting of diverse generall commodities of this Realme, and the inriching of the citie of London, determined to use some effectuall meanes for the reestablishing and augmenting thereof.

Wherefore about the yeere 1575 the foresaid R. W. marchants at their charges and expenses sent John Wight and Joseph Clements by the way of Poland to Constantinople, where the said Joseph remained 18 monethes to procure a safe conduct from the grand Signior, for M. William Harborne, then factor for Sir Edward Osborne, to have free accesse into his Highnes dominions, and obtained the same.

Which businesse after two yeres chargeable travell and suit being accomplished, the sayd M. Harborne the first of July 1578 departed from London by the sea to Ham-burgh, and thence accompanied with Joseph Clements his guide and a servant, he travailed to Leopold in Poland, and then apparelling himselfe, his guide, and his servant after the Turkish fashion (having first obteyned the king of Poland his safe conduct to passe at Camienijecz the frontier towne of his dominions next unto Turkey) by good means he obtained favour of one Acmet Chaus the Turks ambassadour then in Poland, and readie to returne to Constantinople, to bee received into his companie and carovan. And so the fourth of September 1578 he departed with the said Acmet from Leopold in Poland, and travelling through Moldavia, Valachia, Bulgaria, and Romania, gratifying the Voiavodes with certaine courtesies, he arrived at Constantinople the 28 of October next insuing. Where he behaved himselfe so wisely and discretely, that within few moneths after he obtained not onely the great Turkes large and ample priviledge for himselfe, and the two worshipfull persons aforesaid, but also procured his honourable and friendly letters unto her Majestie in maner following.

The letters sent from the Imperiall Musulmanlike highnesse of Zuldán Murad Can, to the sacred regall Majestie of Elizabeth Queene of England, the fifteenth of March 1579, conteyning the grant of the first privileges.

IN greatnes and glory most renowned Elizabeth, most sacred Queene, and noble prince of the most mightie worshippers of Jesus, most wise governor of the causes and affaires of the people and family of Nazareth, cloud of most pleasant raine, and sweetest fountaine of noblesse and vertue, ladie & heire of the perpetuall happinesse & glory of the noble Realme of England (whom all sorts seeke unto and submit themselves) we wish most prosperous successe and happie ends to all your actions, and do offer unto you such pleasures and curtesies as are worthy of our mutuall and eternall familiaritie: thus ending (as best beseemeth us) our former salutations.

In most friendly maner we give you to understand, that a certaine man hath come unto us in the name of your most excellent Regall Majestie, commending unto us from you all kindnesse, curtesie and friendly offices on your part, and did humbly require that our Imperiall highnesse would vouchsafe to give leave and libertie to him and unto two other merchants of your kingdome, to resort hither and returne againe, and that by way of traffike they might be suffered to trade hither with their goods and merchandizes to our Imperiall dominions, and in like sort to make their returne.

Our stately Court and Countrey hath beene ever open for the accesse both of our enemies and friends. But because we are informed that your most excellent Regall Majesty doth abound with good will, humanitie, & all kind of loving affection towards us, so much the rather shall the same our Countrey be alwayes open to such of your subjects, as by way of merchandize shall trade hither: and we will never faile to aide & succor any of them that are or shal be willing to esteeme of our friendship, favour, & assistance: but will reckon it some part of our dutie to gratifie them by all good meanes. And forasmuch as our Imperiall highnesse is given to understand that your most excellent Regall Majestie doth excell in bountie & curtesie, we therfore have sent out our Imperiall commandement to all our kings, judges, and

travellers by sea, to all our Capitaines and voluntarie seafaring men, ail condemned persons, and officers of Ports and customes, straightly charging and commanding them, that such foresaid persons as shall resort hither by sea from the Realme of England, either with great or small vessels to trade by way of marchandize, may lawfully come to our imperiall Dominions, and freely returne home againe, and that no man shall dare to molest or trouble them. And if in like sort they shall come into our dominions by land, either on foote or on horsebacke, no man shall at any time withstand or hinder them: but as our familiars and confederates, the French, Venetians, Polonians, and the king of Germany, with divers other our neighbours about us, have libertie to come hither, & to returne againe into their owne countreys, in like sort the marchants of your most excellent Regall Majesties kingdome shall have safe conduct and leave to repayre hither to our Imperiall dominions, and so to returne againe into their own Country: straightly charging that they be suffered to use and trade all kind of marchandize as any other Christians doe, without let or disturbance of any.

Therefore when these our Imperiall letters shall be brought to your most excellent Regall Majestie, it shall be meet, according to our benevolence, humanity, and familiarity towards your most excellent Majesty, that you likewise bethinke your selfe of your like benevolence, humanitie and friendshippe towards us, to open the gate thereof unto us, and to nourish by all good meanes this kindnesse and friendship: and that like libertie may be granted by your Highnesse to our subjects and merchants to come with their merchandizes to your dominions, either by sea with their ships, or by land with their wagons or horses, and to returne home againe: and that your most excellent Regall Majestie do alwayes declare your humanitie, good will, and friendship towards us, and alwayes keepe open the dore thereof unto us.

Given at our citie of Constantinople the fifteenth day of March, and in the yeere of our most holy Prophet Mahomet 987.

The answer of her Majestie to the aforesaid Letters of the Great Turke, sent the 25 of October 1579, in the Prudence of London by Master Richard Stanley.

ELIZABETH by the grace of the most mightie God, and onely Creatour of heaven and earth, of England, France and Ireland Queene, the most invincible and most mighty defender of the Christian faith against all kinde of idolatries, of all that live among the Christians, and falsly professe the Name of Christ, unto the most Imperiall and most invincible prince, Zultan Murad Can, the most mightie ruler of the kingdome of Turkie, sole and above all, and most sovereigne Monarch of the East Empire, greeting, and many happy and fortunate yeeres, with abundance of the best things.

Most Imperiall and most invincible Emperour, wee have received the letters of your mightie highnesse written to us from Constantinople the fifteenth day of March this present yere, whereby we understand how graciously, and how favorably the humble petitions of one William Hareborne a subject of ours, resident in the Imperial citie of your highnes presented unto your Majestie for the obtaining of accesse for him and two other Marchants more of his company our subjects also, to come with marchandizes both by sea and land, to the countreis and territories subject to your government, and from thence againe to returne home with good leave and libertie, were accepted of your most invincible Imperiall highnesse, and not that onely, but with an extraordinarie speed and worthy your Imperiall grace, that which was craved by petition was granted to him, and his company in regard onely (as it seemeth) of that opinion which your highnesse conceived of us and our amitie: which singular benefit done to our aforesaid subjects, wee take so thankfully, and in so good part (yeelding for the same our greatest thanks to your highnesse) that he will never give occasion to your said highnesse (according as time, and the respect of our affaires will permit) once to thinke so great a pleasure bestowed upon an ungratefull Prince. For the Almighty God, by whom, and by whose grace we reigne, hath planted in us this goodnesse of nature, that wee detest and abhorre the least suspition of ingratitude, and hath taught us not to suffer our selves to bee overmatched with the good demerits of other Princes. And therefore at this



time wee doe extende our good minde unto your highnesse, by well conceiving, and publishing also abroad, how much we repute our selfe bound in an everlasting remembrance for this good pleasure to our Subjects, meaning to yeelde a much more large and plentifull testification of our thankfulnessse, when time convenient shall fall out, and the same shall bee looked for at our handes.

But whereas that graunt which was given to a fewe of our Subjects, and at their onely request without any intercession of ours, standeth in as free a libertie of comming and going to and from all the lands and kingdoms subject to your Majestie, both by land & sea with marchandizes, as ever was granted to any of your Imperiall highnesse confederates, as namely to the French, the Polonians, the Venetians, as also to the subjects of the king of the Romanes, wee desire of your highnesse that the commendation of such singular courtesie may not bee so narrowly restrained to two or three men onely, but may be enlarged to all our subjects in generall, that thereby your highnesse goodnesse may appeare the more notable, by reason of the graunting of the same to a greater number of persons. The bestowing of which so singular a benefit your highnesse shall so much the lesse repent you of, by howe much the more fit and necessary for the use of man those commodities are, wherewith our kingdomes doe abound, and the kingdomes of other princes doe want, so y<sup>t</sup> there is no nation that can be without them, but are glad to come by them, although by very long and difficult travels: and when they have them, they sell them much deerer to others, because every man seeketh to make profite by his labour: so that in the getting of them there is profit, but in the buying of them from others there is losse. But this profite will be increased to the subjects of your highnesse by this free accesse of a few of our subjects to your dominions, as also the losse and burden wilbe eased, by the permission of generall accesse to all our people. And furthermore we will graunt as equall and as free a libertie to the subjects of your highnesse with us for the use of traffique, when they wil, and as often as they wil, to come, and go to and from us and our kingdomes. Which libertie wee promise to your highnesse shalbe as ample, and as large as any was ever given or granted to your subjects by the aforesaide princes your confederats, as namely the king

of the Romanes, of France, of Poland, and the common wealth of Venice. In which matter, if your most invincible Imperiall highnesse shall vouchsafe to incline to our reasonable request, and shall give order upon these our letters, that wee may have knowledge how the same is accepted of you, and whether it wilbe granted, with sufficient securitie for our subjects to go, and returne safe and secure from all violences and injuries of your people, we on the other side wil give order, that those commodities which Almighty God hath bestowed upon our kingdomes (which are in deed so excellent, that by reason of them all princes are drawn to enter, and confirme leagues of amitie and good neighborhood with us, by that meanes to enjoy these so great blessings of God, which we have, and they can in no case want) our subjects shall bring them so abundantly and plentifully to the kingdomes and dominions of your highnesse, that both the former inconveniences of necessitie, and losse, shall most sufficiently be taken away.

Moreover the signification and assurance of your highnesse great affection to us and our nation, doeth cause us also to intreat and use mediation on the behalfe of certaine of our subjects, who are detained as slaves and captives in your Gallies, for whom we crave, that forasmuch as they are fallen into that misery, not by any offence of theirs, by bearing of armes against your highnesse, or in behaving of themselves contrary to honestie, and to the law of nations, they may be delivered from their bondage, and restored to libertie, for their service towards us, according to their duetie: which thing shall yeeld much more abundant cause to us of commending your clemencie, and of beseeching that God (who onely is above all things, and all men, and is a most severe revenger of all idolatrie, and is jelous of his honour against the false gods of the nations) to adorne your most invincible Imperiall highnesse with all the blessings of those gifts, which onely and deservedly are accounted most worthy of asking.

Given at our palace of Greenwich, neere to our Citie of London, the five and twentieth day of October, in the yeere of Jesus Christ our Saviour one thousand, five hundreth, seventie and nine, and of our reigne the one and twentieth.

The charter of the privileges granted to the English, & the league of the great Turke with the Queenes Majestie in respect of traffique, dated in June 1580.

WE most sacred Musulmanlike Emperour, by the infinite and exceeding great power, by the everlasting and wonderfull clemencie, & by the unspeakable helpe of the most mighty & most holy God, creator of all things, to be worshipped and feared with all purenesse of minde, and reverence of speech, The prince of these present times, the onely Monarch of this age, able to give scepters to the potentates of the whole world, the shadow of the divine mercy and grace, the distributor of many kingdoms, provinces, townes and cities, Prince, and most sacred Emperour of Mecca, that is to say, of Gods house, of Medina, of the most glorious and blessed Jerusalem, of the most fertile Egypt, Jemen and Jovan, Eden and Canaan, of Samos the peaceable, and of Hebes, of Jabza, and Pazra, of Zeruzub and Halepia, of Caramaria and Diabekirvan, of Dulkadiria, of Babylon, and of all the three Arabias, of the Euzians and Georgians, of Cyprus the rich, and of the kingdomes of Asia, of Ozakior, of the tracts of the white and blacke Sea, of Grecia and Mesopotamia, of Africa and Goleta, of Alger, and of Tripolis in the West, of the most choise and principall Europe, of Buda and Temeswar, and of the kingdomes beyond the Alpes, and many others such like, most mightie Murad Can, the sonne of the Emperour Zelim Can, which was the sonne of Zoleiman Can, which was the sonne of Zelim Can, which was the sonne of Paiizid Can, which was the sonne of Mehemed Can, &c.

We most mightie prince Murad Can, in token of our Imperiall friendship, doe signifie and declare, that now of late Elizabeth Queene of England, France and Ireland, the most honourable Queene of Christendom (to whose marchants we wish happy successe) sent her letters by her worthy servant William Hareborne unto our stately and most magnificent Porch replenished with justice, which is a refuge and Sanctuary to all the princes of the world, by which letters her Majestie signified, that whereas heretofore certaine of her subjects had repaired to our saide stately Porche, and had shewed their obedience to the same, and for that cause had desired that leave and libertie might also be granted unto them, to come and goe

for traffiques sake too and from our dominions, and that our Imperial commandement might be given, that no man should presume to hurt or hinder them, in any of their abodes or passages by sea or land, and whereas shee requested that we would graunt to all her subjects in generall, this our favour, which before wee had extended onely to a fewe of her people: therefore as wee have entred into amitie, and most holy league with the most excellent kings and princes our confederats, shewing their devotion, and obedience or services towards our stately Porch (as namely the French king, the Venetians, the king of Polonia and others) so also we have contracted an inviolable amitie, peace and league with the aforesaid Queene. Therefore wee give licence to all her people, and marchants, peaceably and safely to come unto our Imperiall dominions, with all their merchandise and goods without any impeachment, to exercise their traffique, to use their owne customes, and to buy and sell according to the fashions of their owne countrey.

And further her Majestie signified unto us, that certaine of her people had heretofore bene taken prisoners, and were detained in captivitie, and required that they might bee set at libertie, and that as we had graunted unto other Princes our confederats, priviledges, and Imperiall decrees, concerning our most inviolable league with them, so it would please our Imperial Majesty to graunt and confirme the like priviledges, and princely decrees to the aforesaid Queene.

Wherefore according to our humanitie and gracious ingrafted disposition, the requests of her Majestie were accepted of us, and we have granted unto her Majestie this privilege of ours agreeable to reason & equitie. And we straightly command all our Beglerbeks, and Zanziacbeks our servants, and our Reydz, that is to say, our Judges, and all our customers in all places, havens and passages, that as long as this league and amitie with the conditions, and articles thereof, are kept and observed on the behalfe of the aforesaid Queene. 1 Our Imperiall commandement and pleasure is, that the people and subjects of the same Queene, may safely and securely come to our princely dominions, with their goods and merchandise, and loadings, and other commodities by sea, in great and smal vessels, and by land with their carriages and cattels, and that no man shall hurt them, but they

may buy and sell without any hinderance, and observe the customes and orders of their owne countrey.

2 Item, if the aforesaid people and marchants shalbe at any time in the course of their journeis and dealings by any meanes taken, they shall be delivered and enlarged, without any excuse or cavillation.

3 Item, if their ships purpose to arive in any of our ports and havens, it shalbe lawfull for them so to do in peace, and from thence againe to depart, without any let or impediment.

4 Item, if it shall happen that any of their ships in tempestuous weather shall bee in danger of losse and perishing, and thereupon shall stand in need of our helpe, we will, and commaund that our men and ships be ready to helpe and succour them.

5 Item, if they shalbe willing to buy any victuals for their money, no person shall withstande them, but they shall buy the same without any disturbance to the contrary.

6 Item, if by any casualtie their shippes shall bee driven on shoare in perill of shipwracke, our Begs and Judges, and other our Subjects shall succour them, and such wares, and goods of theirs as shall bee recovered from the losse, shall bee restored to them, and no man shall wrong them.

7 Item, if the people of the atoresayd Queene, their interpreters and marchants, shall for trafique sake, either by lande or Sea repaire to our dominions paying our lawfull toll and custome, they shall have quiet passage, and none of our Captaines or governours of the Sea, and shippes, nor any kinde of persons, shall either in their bodies, or in their goods and cattels, any way molest them.

8 Item, if any Englishman shall grow in debt, and so owe money to any other man, and thereupon doth absent himselfe that he can not be found, let no man be arrested or apprehended for any other mans debts, except he be the surety.

9 Item, if any Englishman shall make his will and testament, to whom soever by the same hee shall give his goods, the partie shall have them accordingly, and if hee die intestate, hee to whom the Consull or governour of the societie shall say the goods of the dead are to bee given, hee shall have the same.



10 Item, if the Englishmen or the marchants and interpreters of any places under the jurisdiction of England shall happen in the buying and selling of wares, by promises or otherwise to come in controversie, let them go to the Judge, and cause the matter to be entred into a booke, and if they wil, let them also take letters of the Judge testifying the same, that men may see the booke and letters, whatsoever thing shall happen, and that according to the tenour thereof the matter in controversie and in doubt may be ended: but if such things be neither entred in booke, nor yet the persons have taken letters of the Judge, yet he shall admit no false wnesse, but shall execute the Law according to justice, and shall not suffer them to be abused.

11 Item, if any man shall say, that these being Christians have spoken any thing to the derogation of our holy faith and religion, and have slandered the same, in this matter as in all others, let no false witnesses in any case be admitted.

12 Item, if any one of them shall commit any great crime, and flying thereupon cannot bee found, let no man be arrested, or detained for another mans fact, except he be his suretie.

13 Item, if any slave shall be found to be an Englishman, and their Consull or governour shall sue for his libertie, let the same slave be diligently examined, and if hee be found in deed to be English, let him be discharged and restored to the Englishmen.

14 Item, if any Englishman shall come hither either to dwel or trafique, whether hee be married or unmarried, he shall pay no polle or head money.

15 Item, if either in Alexandria, Damasco, Samos, Tunis, Tripolis in ye west, the port townes of Ægypt, or in any other places, they purpose to choose to themselves Consuls or governours, let them doe so, and if they will alter them at any time, and in the roome of the former Consuls place others, let them do so also, and no man shall restraine them.

16 Item, if their interpreter shalbe at any time absent, being occupied in other serious matters, let the thing then in question bee stayed and differed till his comming, and in the meane time no man shall trouble them.

17 Item, if any variance or controversie shall arise among the Englishmen, and thereupon they shall appeale

to their Consuls or governours, let no man molest them, but let them freely doe so, that the controversie begunne may be finished according to their owne customes.

18 Item, if after the time and date of this privilege, any pirats or other free governours of ships trading the Sea shall take any Englishman, and shall make sale of him, either beyonde the Sea, or on this side of the Sea, the matter shalbe examined according to justice, and if the partie shalbe found to be English, and shall receive the holy religion, then let him freely be discharged, but if he wil still remaine a Christian, let him then be restored to the Englishmen, and the buyers shall demaund their money againe of them who solde the man.

19 Item, if the ships of warre of our Imperiall highnesse shal at any time goe forth to Sea, and shall finde any English ships laden with marchandise, no man shall hinder them, but rather shall use them friendly, and doe them no wrong, even as wee have given and granted articles, and privileges to the French, Venetians, and other Kings and princes our confederats, so also wee have given the like to the English: and contrary to this our divine lawe and privilege, let no man presume to doe any thing.

20 Item, if either their great or small ships shall in the course of their voyage, or in any place to which they come, bee stayed or arrested, let no man continue the same arrest, but rather helpe and assist them.

21 Item, if any theeves and robbers shall by force take away any of their ships, and marchandise, let the same theeves and robbers be sought, and searched for with all diligence, and let them be punished most severely.

22 Last of all the Beglerbegs, and Zanziacbegs, our Captaines, our slaves and servants of Captaines using the sea, and our Judges, customers and governours of ships called Reiz, and free Reiz, all these, according to the tenor of this privilege and articles, shalbe bound to doe accordingly: and, as long as the Queene of England on her part shall duely keepe and observe this league and holy peace, expressed in this privilege, we also for our Imperial part, do charge and commaund the same so long to be straightly kept and observed.

Given at Constantinople, in the 988. yeere of our most holy prophet, in the beginning of the moneth of June, And in the veere of Jesus 1580.

Her Majesties letter to the Turke or Grand Signior 1581.  
promising redresse of the disorders of Peter Baker of  
Ratcliffe, committed in the Levant.

ELIZABETH by the divine grace of the eternall God, of England, France and Ireland most sacred Queene, and of the most Christian faith, against all the prophaners of his most holy Name the zealous and mightie defendour, &c. To the most renowned and Emperious Cæsar, Sultan Murad Can, Emperour of all the dominions of Turkie, and of all the East Monarchie chiefe above all others whosoever, most fortunate yeeres with the successe of al true happinesse. As with very great desire we wish and embrace the love and amitie of forreine Princes, and in the same by al good dueties and meanes we seeke to be confirmed: so to us there may bee nothing more grievous and disliking, then that any thing should happen through the default of our Subjects, which any way might bring our faith and fidelitie into suspition: Although wee are not ignorant how many good princes by the like misadventure be abused, where the doings of the Subjects are imputed to the want of good government. But such matters of importance and so well approved we may not omit: such is to us the sacred estimation of our honour, and of our Christian profession, as we would the same should appeare aswell in the concluding of our promises and agreements, as in the faithful performing of the same.

The matter which by these our letters wee specially beholde, is a most injurious and grievous wrong which of late came unto our understanding, that should be done unto certaine of your subjects by certaine of our Subjects, as yet not apprehended: but with all severitie upon their apprehension they are to be awarded for the same. And as the deede in it selfe is most wicked, so is it much more intollerable, by how much it doeth infringe the credit of our faith, violate the force of our authoritie, and impeach the estimation of our word faithfully given unto your Imperiall dignitie. In which so great a disorder if wee should not manifest our hatred towards so wicked and evil disposed persons, we might not onely most justly be reproved in the judgement of all such as truely favour Justice, but also of all Princes the patrones of right and equitie, might no lesse be condemned. That therefore

considered, which of our parts is ordained in this cause which may be to the good liking of your highnesse, we are most especially to request of your Imperiall Majestie, that through the default and disorder of a sort of evill and wicked disposed persons, you wil not withdraw your gracious favour from us, neither to hinder the trafique of our Subjects, which by vertue of your highnesse sufferance, and power of your licence are permitted to trade into your dominions & countreys, or that either in their persons or goods they be prejudiced in their travayling by land or by water, promising unto your greatnesse most faithfully, that the goods whereof your subjects by great wrong and violence have bene spoyled, shall wholly againe be restored, if either by the lives or possessions of the robbers it may any way be brought to passe: And that hereafter (as now being taught by this evill example) wee will have speciall care that none under the title of our authoritie shall be suffered to commit any the like wrongs or injuries.

Neither they which have committed these evil parts had any power under your highnesse safeconduct graunted unto our subjects, but from some other safeconduct, whether it were true or fained, we knowe not, or whether they bought it of any person within the government of Marseils: but under the colour thereof they have done that, which the trueth of our dealing doeth utterly abhorre. Notwithstanding howsoever it be, wee will surely measure their evill proceedings with most sharpe and just correction, and that it shall repent them of the impeachment of our honours, as also if shalbe an example of our indignation, that others may dread at all times to commit the like offence. Wherefore that our amitie might be continued, as if this unfortunate hap had never chanced, and that the singuler affection of our Subjects towards your Imperiall Majestie vowed, and dayly more and more desired, might be conserved and defended, we thereunto do make our humble suite unto your greatnesse: And for so great goodnesse towards us and our people granted, doe most humbly pray unto the Almighty creatour of heaven and earth, ever to maintaine and keepe your most renowned Majestie in all happinesse and prosperitie.

Dated at our palace of Greenewich the 26. of June,  
Anno 1581.

The letters patents, or privileges graunted by her Majestie to Sir Edward Osborne, Master Richard Staper, and certaine other Marchants of London for their trade into the dominions of the great Turke, in the yeere 1581.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all our Officers, ministers, and Subjects, and to all other people as well within this our Realme of England, as else where under our obeysance, jurisdiction, or otherwise, unto whom these our letters shall be seene, shewed or read, greeting. Where our welbeloved Subjects Edward Osborne Alderman of our Citie of London, and Richard Staper of our sayde City Marchant, have by great adventure and industrie, with their great costes and charges, by the space of sundry late yeeres, travailed, and caused travaile to bee taken, as well by secret and good meanes, as by dangerous wayes and passages both by lande and Sea, to finde out and set open a trade of Marchandize and trafique into the Lands, Islands, dominions, and territories of the great Turke, commonly called the Grand Signior, not heretofore in the memory of any man now living knownen to be commonly used and frequented by way of marchandise, by any the Marchants or any Subjects of us, or our progenitours; and also have by their like good meanes and industrie, and great charges procured of the sayde Grand Signior (in our name,) amitie, safetie, and freedome, for trade and trafique of Marchandise to bee used, and continued by our Subjects within his sayde Dominions, whereby there is good and apparant hope and likelyhoode both that many good offices may bee done for the peace of Christendome, and reliefe of many Christians that bee or may happen to bee in thraldome or necessitie under the sayde Grand Signior, his vassals or Subjects, and also good and profitable vent and utterance may be had of the commodities of our Realme, and sundry other great benefites to the advancement of our honour, and dignitie Royall, the increase of the revenues of our Crowne, and generall wealth of our Realme: Knowe ye, that hereupon wee greatly tendering the wealth of our people, and the incouragement of our Subjects in their good enterprises for the advancement of the Common weale, have of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, given and graunted and by these presents



for us, our heires and successours, doe give and graunt unto our sayd trustie, and welbeloved Subjects Edward Osborne, and unto Thomas Smith of London Esquier, Richard Staper, and William Garret of London Merchants, their executors, and administrators, and to the executours and administratours of them, and of every of them, that they, and every of them, and such other person and persons Englishmen borne, not exceeding the number of twelve, as they the sayde Edward, and Richard shall appoint, nominate, or admit to be parteners, adventurers, or doers with them the sayde Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, in their societie by themselves, their servants, Factours or deputies, and to such others as shall bee nominated according to the tenour of these our letters Patents, shall and may during the terme of seven yeeres from the date of these Patents, freely trade, trafique, and use feates of Marchandise into, and from the dominions of the sayde Grand Signior, and every of them, in such order, and maner, forme, liberties and condition to all intents and purposes as shalbe betweene them limited and agreed, and not otherwise, without any molestation, impeachment, or disturbance, any Lawe, statute, usage, diversitie of religion or faith, or other cause or matter whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding.

And that it shalbe lawful to the said Edward and Richard their executors and administrators, (during the said terme) to appoint or admit to be parteners and adventurers with them the sayde Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, such persons not exceeding the number of twelve (as afore is said) to trafique and use the said trade & feate of marchandise according to our saide graunt. And that all and every such person and persons, as shall hereafter fortune to bee appointed or admitted as parteners in the said trade or trafique according to these our letters patents, shall and may from the time of such appointment or admittance, have and enjoy the freedome and libertie of the said trade and trafique, during the residue of the said terme of seven yeeres, according to such limitation and agreement as is aforesaide, and that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the saide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executours and administratours, servants, factours and deputies, and all such as shall be so appointed, nominated or admitted, to bee parteners or adventurers in the saide trade, or so many

of them as can and will, to assemble themselves for or about any the matters, causes, affaires or businesse of the saide trade in any place or places for the same convenient, from time to time during the said terme of 7. yeres, within our dominions or elsewhere, and to make, ordeine, and constitute reasonable lawes and ordinances, for the good government of the said Company, and for the better advancement and continuance of the said trade and trafique, not being contrary or repugnant to the lawes, estatutes or customes of our Realme, and the same lawes or ordinances so made to put in use, and execute accordingly, and at their pleasures to revoke the same lawes and ordinances, or any of them, as occasion shall require.

And in consideration that the said Edward Osborne hath bene the principall setter foorth and doer in the opening, & putting in ure of the said trade, we do therfore especially ordeine, constitute, and provide by these patents, that the saide Edward Osborne shall be governour of all such as by vertue of these our letters patents, shall be parteners, adventurers, or trafiquers in the said trade, during the said terme of seven yeeres, if hee so long live: And that if the said Edward shall happen to decease during the saide terme, the saide Richard Staper then living, then the sayd Richard Staper shall likewise be governour during the residue of the said terme (if he so long live) and that if the said Edward and Richard shall both happen to decease during the said terme, then the partners or adventurers for the time being, or the greatest part of them, shall from time to time as necessitie shall require, choose and elect a governour of the said Company.

Provided alwayes, that if there shall happen any great or urgent occasion to remoove or displace any person that shall be governour of the saide fellowship, that then it shall, and may be lawfull for us, our heires and successors, to remoove, and displace every such governour, and to place another of the said fellowship in the same office, during such time as such person should have enjoyed the same, according to this our graunt, if there had bene no cause to the contrary.

And we further for us, our heires, and successors, of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, do graunt to the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors and administrators, that nothing shall bee done to be of force

or validitie touching the sayde trade or trafique, or the exercise thereof, without or against the consent of the said Edward, during such time as hee shall bee Governour as afore is saide. And after that time without the consent of the Governour for the time being, and the more part of the said Company.

And further, wee of our more ample and abundant grace, meere motion and certaine knowledge, have graunted, and by these patents for us, our heires and successors, doe graunt to the saide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors and administrators, that they, the saide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors and administrators, and the said person and persons, by them the said Edward and Richard to be nominated, or appointed as afore is said, together, with such two other persons, as wee our heires or successors from time to time during the sayd terme shall nominate, shall have the whole trade and trafique, and the whole entire onely libertie, use and privilege of trading, and trafiquing, and using feate of marchandise, into, and from the said dominions of the said Grand Signior, and every of them. And when there shall be no such persons so nominated or appointed by us, our heires or successors, that then the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors and administrators, and such persons by them so to be appointed, shall have the saide whole trade and trafique, and the whole entire, and onely libertie, use, and privilege of trading and trafiquing aforesaid. And that they the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors & administrators, and also al such as shal so be nominated or appointed to be partners or adventurers in the said trade, according to such agreement as is above-said, and every of them, their servants, factors and deputies, shal have ful and free authoritie, libertie, facultie, licence and power to trade and trafique into and from all and every the saide dominions of the saide Grand Signior, and into, and from all places where, by occasion of the said trade, they shall happen to arrive or come, whether they be Christians, Turkes, Gentiles or other, and into, and from all Seas, rivers, ports, regions, territories, dominions, coastes and places with their ships, barks, pinnesses and other vessels, and with such mariners and men, as they will lead with them or send for the said trade, as

they shall thinke good at their owne proper cost and expenses, any law, statute, usage, or matter whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding. And that it shalbe lawfull for the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, and to the persons aforesaid, and to and for the mariners and seamen to bee used and employed in the said trade and voyage to set and place in the tops of their ships and other vessels the armes of England with the red crosse over the same, as heretofore they have used the red crosse, any matter or thing to the contrary notwithstanding.

And we of our further royal favor, and of our especial grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion have graunted, and by these presents doe graunt to the said Edward Osburne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors and administrators by these presents, that the said lands, territories, and dominions of the said Grand Signior, or any of them, shall not be visited, frequented, nor haunted by way of marchandise by any other our subjects during the said terme, contrary to the true meaning of these patents.

And by vertue of our high prerogative royall (which wee will not have argued or brought in question) we straightly charge and commaund, and prohibite for us, our heires, and successours, all our subjects (of what degree or qualitie soever they be) that none of them directly, or indirectly, do visite, haunt, frequent or trade, trafique, or adventure by way of marchandise into, or from any of the Dominions of the sayde Grand Signior, or other places abovesayde by water or by lande (other then the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors or administrators, or such as shalbe admitted, and nominated as is aforesaide) without expresse licence, agreement, and consent of the said Governour, and company or the more part of them, whereof the said Governour alwayes to be one, upon paine of our high indignation, and of forfeiture and losse, as well of the ship and shippes, with the furniture thereof, as also of the goods, marchandizes, and things whatsoever they be of those our Subjects which shall attempt, or presume to saile, trafique, or adventure, to or from any the dominions, or places abovesaid, contrary to the prohibition aforesaid: the one halfe of the same forfeiture to be to the use of us, our heires & successors, and the other halfe to the use of the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and

William, and the said companie, and further to suffer imprisonment during our pleasure, and such other punishment as to us, for so high contempt, shal seeme meete and convenient.

And further of our grace speciall, certaine knowledge, and meere motion we have condescended and graunted, and by these patents for us our heires and successors, doe condescend and grant to the said Edward, Thomas, Richard & William, their executors and administrators, that we our heires & successors during the said terme, will not grant liberty, licence or power to any person or persons whatsoever, contrary to the tenor of these our letters patents, to saile, passe, trade, or trafique into or from the said dominions of the said Grand Signior or any of them, without the consent of the said Edward, Thomas, Richard & William, and such as shalbe named or appointed as afore is said, or the most of them. And that if at any time hereafter during the said terme, ye said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or the survivors of them, shal admit or nominate any of our subjects to be partners & adventurers in the said trade to the number of 12. or under as afore is said, that then we our heires and successors at the instance and petition of the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or the survivors of them in our Chauncerie to be made, and upon the sight of these presents, will grant and make to the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or to the survivors of them, and to such persons as so shall be nominated or appointed by their speciall names, surnames, & additions as is aforesaid, new letters patents under the great seale of England in due forme of law with like agreement, clauses, prohibitions, provisoes and articles (*mutatis mutandis*) as in these our letters patents are contained, for, and during the residue of the said terme of seven yeres then remaining unexpired. And that the sight of these presents shalbe sufficient warrant to the Lord Chancellour, or Lord keeper of the great seale for the time being, for the making, sealing and passing of such new letters patents, without further writ or warrant for the same to be required, had, or obtained.

And the said Edward Osburne, Thomas Smith, and Richard Staper, and William Garret and such others as shalbe so nominated and appointed, as is aforesaid, to be of their trade or companie, shall yeerely during 6. of the



last yeres of the said 7. yeres, lade out of this our Realme, and bring home yeerely, for, and in the feate and trade of marchandizing aforesaid, so much goods and marchandizes, as the custome, and subsidie inwards and outwards, shall amount in the whole to the summe of 500. li. yeerely. So that the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret and the said persons so to be nominated as is aforesaid, or any of them, or their ship or shippes be not barred, stayed, restrained or let by any reasonable occasion from the sayde trade or trafique, and so that the said ship or ships do not perish by any misfortune, or bee spoyled by the way in their voyage.

And further, the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, and such others as shall be appointed as aforesaide to be of their saide trade or Company, shall give notice unto the Lord Admirall of England, or to some of the principall officers of the Admiraltie for the time being, of such ship or shippes as they shall set foorth in the same voyage, and of the number of Mariners appointed to goe in the same ship or shippes, by the space of fifteene dayes before the setting or going foorth of the same ship or shippes. And also the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper and William Garret, and such other as shall be by them the saide Edward and Richard, nominated to be of the said trade, shall and will at the setting foorth of their ship, or shippes, for the same voyage, permit and suffer the Master of the Ordinance of us, our heires and successors, or some others, our or their principall officers of the Ordinance, to take a view of the number and quantitie of such Ordinance, powder, and munition as shall be caried in the said ship, or shippes, and shall also at the returne of the same ship, or shippes, suffer a view to be taken, and upon request made, make an accompt to the saide officers of our Ordinance, of the expenses, and wastes of the said Ordinance, powder, and munition, so to bee caried in the same ship, or shippes.

Provided alwayes, that if any of the said trade or Company, or their servants, factors, or sailers, in any ship by them laden, shall commit any piracie or outrage upon the seas, and that, if the said Company or societie shall not, or do not, within reasonable time, after complaint made, or notice given to the said Company, or to any of them, either satisfie or recompense the parties that so shall for-

tune to be robbed, or spoiled by any of the said Company, or sailers, in the said ships, or els shall not do their endeavour to the uttermost of their reasonable power, to have the parties so offending punished for the same their offences, that then, and from thencefoorth, these present letters patents shall be utterly voyd, cease, and determine.

Provided likewise, that if it shall hereafter appeare unto us, our heires, or successors, that this grant, or the continuance thereof in the whole, or in any part thereof, shall not be profitable to us, our heires, our successors, or to this our Realme, that then, and from thencefoorth, upon, and after one full yeeres warning, to be given unto the said Company, or to the Governour thereof, by us, our heires, or successors, this present grant shall cease, be voyd, and determine, to all intents, constructions, and purposes.

Provided also, that we, our heires and successors, from time to time, during the said 7. yeeres, may lawfully nominate, appoint, and authorise two persons, being fit men, to be of the saide company, and for want or lacke of them, two others to be adventurers in the said trade, for such stocke and summe of money, as they shall put in, so that the said persons to bee nominated, or authorised, shall be contributorie to all charges of the said trade & adventure indifferently, according to their stockes : and as other adventurers of the said trade shall doe for their stockes, and so that likewise they doe observe the orders of the said Company, allowable by this our graunt, and that such persons so to be appointed by us, our heires or successors, shall, and may, with the saide Company, and fellowship, use the trade and feate of marchandise aforesaide, and all the liberties and privileges herein before granted, according to the meaning of these our letters patents, any thing in these our letters patents contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

And further of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, we have condescended and granted, and by these presents for us, our heires and successors, doe condescend, and grant to the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors, and administrators, that if at the ende of the said terme of seven yeeres, it shall seeme meete, and convenient unto the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, or the survivor of

them, that this present grant shall be continued: and if that also it shall appeare unto us, our heires, or successors, that the continuance thereof shall not be prejudiciall, or hurtfull to this our Realme, that then we, our heires, or successors, at the instance and petition of the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, or the survivor of them, to be made to us, our heires, or successors, wil grant and make to the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or the survivor of them, and to such other persons, as so shal be by the said Edward and Richard nominated and appointed, new letters patents, under the great seale of England, in due forme of lawe, with like covenants, grants, clauses, and articles, as in these presents are contained, or with addition of other necessary articles, or change of these, in some part, for and during the full terme of seven yeeres then next following. Willing, and straightly commanding, and charging all and singuler our Admirals, Vice-admirals, Justices, Maiors, Sheriffes, Escheaters, Constables, Bailiffes, and all and singuler our other officers, ministers, liege men, and subjects whatsoever, to be aiding, favouring, helping, and assisting unto the said Governour, and company, and their successors, and to their Deputies, officers, servants, assignes, and ministers, and every of them, in executing and enjoying the premisses, as well on land as on sea, from time to time, and at all times when you, or any of you, shall be thereunto required, any statute, act, ordinance, proviso, proclamation, or restraint heretofore had, made, set forth, ordained, or provided, or any other matter, cause or thing to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding.

In witnesse whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patents, witnesse our selfe, at Westminster, the 11. day of September, in the 23. yeere of our raigne.

The first voyage or journey, made by Master Laurence Aldersey, Marchant of London, to the Cities of Jerusalem, and Tripolis, &c. In the yeere 1581. Penned and set downe by himselfe.

I DEPARTED from London the first day of April, in the yeere of our Lord 1581, passing through the Nether-land and up the river Rhene by Colen, and other cities of Germanie. And upon Thursday, the thirde day of May, I came to Augusta, where I delivered the letter I had to

Master Jenise, and Master Castler, whom I found very willing to pleasure me, in any thing that I could or would reasonably demaund. He first furnished me with a horse to Venice, for my money, and then tooke me with him a walking, to shew me the Citie, for that I had a day to tary there, for him that was to be my guide. He shewed me first the State-house, which is very faire, and beautifull: then he brought mee to the finest garden, and orchard, that ever I sawe in my life: for there was in it a place for Canarie birdes, as large as a faire Chamber, trimmed with wier both above and beneath, with fine little branches of trees, for them to sit in, which was full of those Canarie birdes. There was such an other for Turtle dooves: also there were two pigeon houses joyning to them, having in them store of Turtle dooves, and pigeons. In the same garden also were sixe or seven fishponds, all railed about, and full of very good fish. Also, seven or eight fine fountaines, or water springs, of divers fashions: as for fruite, there wanted none of all sorts, as Orenge, figges, raisons, wallnuts, grapes, besides apples, pearres, fillbirds, small nuts, and such other fruite, as wee have in England.

Then did hee bring mee to the water tower of the same Citie that by a sleight and devise hath the water brought up as high, as any Church in the towne, and to tel you the strange devises of all, it passeth my capacitie. Then he brought me to another faire garden, called the Shooters hoose, where are buts for the long bowe, the crosse bowe, the stone bowe, the long peece, and for divers other exercises more.

After this, we walked about the walles of the Citie, where is a great, broade, and deepe ditch, upon one side of the towne, so full of fish, as ever I sawe any pond in my life, and it is reserved onely for the States of the Citie. And upon the other side of the Citie is also a deepe place all greene, wherein Deere are kept, and when it pleaseth the States to hunt for their pleasure, thither they resort, and have their courses with grayhounds, which are kept for that purpose.

The fift of May, I departed from Augusta towards Venice, and came thither upon Whitsunday, the thirteenth of the same moneth. It is needlesse to speake of the height of the mountaines that I passed over, and of the danger thereof, it is so wel known already to the world:

the heighth of them is marveilous, and I was the space of sixe dayes in passing them.

I came to Venice at the time of a Faire, which lasted foureteene dayes, wherein I sawe very many, and faire shewes of wares. I came thither too short for the first passage, which went away from Venice about the seventh or eight of May, and with them about three score pilgrims, which shippe was cast away at a towne called Estria, two miles from Venice, and all the men in her, saving thirtie, or thereabout, lost.

Within eight dayes after fell Corpus Christi day, which was a day amongst them of procession, in which was shewed the plate and treasure of Venice, which is esteemed to be worth two millions of pounds, but I do not accompt it woorth halfe a quarter of that money, except there be more than I sawe. To speake of the sumptuousnesse of the Copes and Vestments of the Church, I leave, but the trueth is, they bee very sumptuous, many of them set all over with pearle, and made of cloth of golde. And for the Jesuits, I thinke there be as many at Venice, as there be in Colen.

The number of Jewes is there thought to be 1000, who dwell in a certaine place of the Citie, and have also a place, to which they resort to pray, which is called the Jewes Synagogue. They all, and their offspring use to weare red caps, (for so they are commaunded) because they may thereby be knowen from other men. For my further knowledge of these people, I went into their Synagogue upon a Saturday, which is their Sabbath day: and I found them in their service or prayers, very devoute: they receive the five bookes of Moses, and honour them by carying them about their Church, as the Papists doe their crosse.

Their Synagogue is in forme round, and the people sit round about it, and in the midst, there is a place for him that readeth to the rest: as for their apparell, all of them weare a large white lawne over their garments, which reacheth from their head, downe to the ground.

The Psalmes they sing as wee doe, having no image, nor using any maner of idolatrie: their error is, that they beleeve not in Christ, nor yet receive the New Testament. This Citie of Venice is very faire, and greatly to bee commended, wherein is good order for all things: and also it is very strong and populous: it standeth upon the



maine Sea, and hath many Islands about it, that belong to it.

To tell you of the duke of Venice, and of the Seigniory : there is one chosen that ever beareth the name of a duke, but in trueth hee is but servant to the Seigniorie, for of himselfe hee can doe litle : it is no otherwise with him, then with a Priest that is at Masse upon a festival day, which putting on his golden garment, seemeth to be a great man, but if any man come unto him, and crave some friendship at his handes, hee will say, you must goe to the Masters of the Parish, for I can not pleasure you, otherwise then by preferring of your suite : and so it is with the duke of Venice, if any man having a suite, come to him, and make his complaint, and deliver his supplication, it is not in him to helpe him, but hee will tell him, You must come this day, or that day, and then I will preferre your suite to the Seigniorie, and doe you the best friendship that I may. Furthermore, if any man bring a letter unto him, hee may not open it, but in the presence of the Seigniorie, and they are to see it first, which being read, perhaps they will deliver it to him, perhaps not. Of the Seigniory there be about three hundreth, and about fourtie of the privie Counsell of Venice, who usually are arrayed in gownes of crimsen Satten, or crimsen Damaske, when they sit in Counsell.

In the Citie of Venice, no man may weare a weapon, except he be a souldier for the Seigniorie, or a scholler of Padua, or a gentleman of great countenance, and yet he may not do that without licence.

As for the women of Venice, they be rather monsters, then women. Every Shoomakers or Taylors wife will have a gowne of silke, and one to carie up her traine, wearing their shooes very neere halfe a yard high from the ground : if a stranger meete one of them, he will surely thinke by the state that she goeth with, that he meeteth a Lady.

I departed from this Citie of Venice, upon Midsommer day, being the foure and twentieth of June, and thinking that the ship would the next day depart, I stayed, and lay a shippeboord all night, and we were made beleefe from time to time, that we should this day, and that day depart, but we taried still, till the fourteenth of July, and then with scant winde wee set sayle, and sayled that day and that night, not above fiftie Italian miles : and upon

the sixteene day at night, the winde turned flat contrary, so that the Master knewe not what to doe: and about the fift houre of the night, which we reckon to be about one of the clocke after midnight, the Pilot descried a saile, and at last perceived it to be a Gallie of the Turkes, whereupon we were in great feare.<sup>s</sup>

The Master being a wise fellowe, and a good sayler, beganne to devise howe to escape the danger, and to loose litle of our way: and while both he, and all of us were in our dumps, God sent us a merry gale of winde, that we ranne threescore and tenne leagues before it was twelve a clocke the next day, and in sixe dayes after we were seven leagues past Zante. And upon Munday morning, being the three and twentie of the same moneth, we came in the sight of Candia which day the winde came contrary, with great blasts, and stormes, untill the eight and twentie of the same moneth: in which time, the Mariners cried out upon me, because I was an English man, & sayd, I was no good Christian, and wished that I were in the midst of the Sea, saying, that they, and the shippe, were the worse for me. I answered, truely it may well be, for I thinke my selfe the worst creature in the worlde, and consider you your selves also, as I doe my selfe, and then use your discretion. The Frier preached, and the sermon being done, I was demaunded whether I did understand him: I answered, yea, and tolde the Frier himselfe, thus you saide in your sermon, that we were not all good Christians, or else it were not possible for us to have such weather: to which I answered, be you well assured, that we are not indeede all good Christians, for there are in the ship some that hold very unchristian opinions: so for that time I satisfied him, although (they said) that I would not see, when they said the procession, and honoured their images, and prayed to our Lady, and S. Marke.

There was also a Gentleman, an Italian, which was a passenger in the ship, and he tolde me what they said of me, because I would not sing, *Salve Regina*, and *Ave Maria*, as they did: I told them, that they that praied to so many, or sought helpe of any other, then of God the Father, or of Jesus Christ his onely sonne, goe a wrong way to worke, and robbed God of his honour, and wrought their owne destructions.

All this was told the Friars, but I heard nothing of it

in three daies after : and then at evening prayer, they sent the purser about with the image of our Lady to every one to kisse, & I perceiving it went another way from him, and would not see it : yet at last he fetched his course about, so that he came to me, & offered it to me as he did to others, but I refused it : whereupon there was a great stirre : the patron and all the friers were told of it, and every one saide I was a Lutheran, and so called me : but two of the friers that were of greatest authoritie, seemed to beare mee better good will then the rest, and travelled to the patron in my behalfe, and made all well againe.

The second day of August we arrived in Cyprus, at a towne called Missagh : the people there be very rude, and like beasts, and no better, they eat their meat sitting upon the ground, with their legges a crosse like tailors, their beds for the most part be hard stones, but yet some of them have faire mattraces to lie upon.

Upon thursday the eight of August we came to Joppa in a small barke, which we hired betwixt Missagh and Salina, and could not be suffered to come on land till noone the next day, and then we were permitted by the great Basha, who sate upon the top of a hill to see us sent away. Being come on land, we might not enter into any house for victuals, but were to content our selves with our owne provision, and that which we bought to carie with us was taken from us. I had a paire of stirrups, which I bought at Venice to serve me in my journey, and trying to make them fit for me, when the Basha saw me up before the rest of the companie, he sent one to dismount me, and to strike me, whereupon I turned me to the Basha, and made a long legge, saying, Grand mercie Signior : and after a while we were horsed upon litle asses, and sent away, with about fiftie light horsemen to be our conduct through the wilderness, called Deserta foelix, who made us good sport by the way with their pikes, gunnes, and fauchins.

That day being S. Laurence day, we came to Rama, which is tenne Italian miles from Joppa, and there we stayed that night, and payed to the captaine of the castell every man a chekin, which is seven shillings and two pence sterling. So then we had a new gard of souldiers, and left the other.

The house we lodged in at Rama had a doore so low

to enter into, that I was faine to creepe in, as it were upon my knees, & within it are three roomes to lodge travellers that come that way: there are no beds, except a man buy a mat, and lay it on the ground, that is all the provision, without stooles or benches to sit upon. Our victuals were brought us out of the towne, as hennes, egges, bread, great store of fruite, as pomgranates, figges, grapes, oringes, and such like, and drinke we drue out of the well. The towne it selfe is so ruinated, that I take it rather to be a heape of stones then a towne.

Then the next morning we thought to have gone away, but we could not be permitted that day, so we stayed there till two of the clocke the next morning, and then with a fresh gard of souldiers we departed toward Jerusalem. We had not ridde five English miles, but we were incountred with a great number of the Arabians, who stayed us, and would not suffer us to passe till they had somewhat, so it cost us for all our gard above twentie shillings a man betwixt Joppa and Jerusalem. These Arabians troubled us oftentimes. Our Truchman that payed the money for us was striken downe, and had his head broken because he would not give them as much as they asked: and they that should have rescued both him and us, stood still, and durst doe nothing, which was to our cost.

Being come within sight of Jerusalem, the maner is to kneele downe, and give God thankes, that it hath pleased him to bring us to that holy place where he himselfe had beene: and there we leave our horses, and go on foote to the towne, and being come to the gates, there they tooke our names, and our fathers names, and so we were permitted to go to our lodgings.

The governor of the house met us a mile out of the towne, and very curteously bade us all welcome, and brought us to the monasterie. The gates of the citie are all covered with yron, the entrance into the house of the Christians is a very low & narrow doore, barred or plated with yron, and then come we into a very darke entry: the place is a monastery: there we lay, & dieted of free cost, we fared reasonable well, the bread and wine was excellent good, the chambers cleane, & all the meat well served in, with cleane linnen.

We lay at the monasterie two dayes, friday and saturday, and then we went to Bethlem with two or three of

the friers of the house with us: in the way thither we saw many monuments, as:

The mountaine where the Angell tooke up Abacuck by the haire, and brought him to Daniel in the Lions denne.

The fountaine of the prophet Jeremie.

The place where the wise men met that went to Bethlem to worship Christ, where is a fountaine of stone.

Being come to Bethlem we sawe the place where Christ was borne, which is now a chappell with two altars, whereupon they say masse: the place is built with gray marble, and hath bene beautifull, but now it is partly decayed.

Neere thereto is the sepulchre of the innocents slaine by Herod, the sepulchres of Paul, of Jerome, and of Eusebius.

Also a litle from this monasterie is a place under the ground, where the virgine Mary abode with Christ when Herod sought him to destroy him.

We stayed at Bethlem that night, and the next day we went from thence to the mountaines of Judea, which are about eight miles from Jerusalem, where are the ruines of an olde monasterie. In the mid way from the monasterie to Jerusalem is the place where John Baptist was borne, being now an olde monasterie, and cattell kept in it. Also a mile from Jerusalem is a place called Inventio sanctæ crucis, where the wood was found that made the crosse.

In the citie of Jerusalem we saw the hall where Pilate sate in judgement when Christ was condemned, the staires whereof are at Rome, as they told us. A litle from thence is the house where the virgin Mary was borne.

There is also the piscina or fishpoole where the sicke folkes were healed, which is by the wals of Jerusalem. But the poole is now dry.

The mount of Calvaria is a great church, and within the doore therof, which is litle, and barred with yron, and five great holes in it to looke in, like the holes of taverne doores in London, they sit that are appointed to receive our money with a carpet under them upon a banke of stone, & their legs a crosse like tailors: having paid our money, we are permitted to go into the church: right against the church doore is the grave where Christ was buried, with a great long stone of white marble over it.



and rayled about, the outside of the sepulchre is very foule, by meanes that every man scrapes his name and marke upon it, and is ill kept.

Within the sepulchre is a partition, & in the further part thereof is a place like an altar, where they say masse, and at the doore thereof is the stone whereupon the Angell sate when he sayde to Marie, He is risen, which stone was also rowled to the doore of the sepulchre.

The altar stone within the sepulchre is of white marble, the place able to containe but foure persons, right over the sepulchre is a devise or lanterne for light, and over that a great louver, such as are in England in ancient houses. There is also the chappell of the sepulchre, and in the mids thereof is a canopie as it were of a bed, with a great sort of Estridge egges hanging at it, with tassels of silke and lampes.

Behinde the sepulchre is a litle chappell for the Chaldeans and Syrians.

Upon the right hand comming into the church is the tombe of Baldwine king of France, and of his sonne: and in the same place the tombe of Melchisedech.

There is a chappell also in the same church erected to S. Helen, through which we go up to the place where Christ was crucified: the stayres are fiftie steps high, there are two altars in it: before the high altar is the place where the crosse stood, the hole whereof is trimmed about with silver, and the depth of it is halfe a mans arme deepe: the rent also of the mountaine is there to be seene in the crevis, wherein a man may put his arme.

Upon the other side of the mount of Calvarie is the place where Abraham would have sacrificed his sonne. Where also is a chapell, and the place paved with stones of divers colours.

There is also the house of Annas the high Priest, and the Olive tree whereunto Christ was bound when he was whipt. Also the house of Caiphas, and by it the prison where Christ was kept, which is but the roome of one man, and hath no light but the opening of the doore.

Without Jerusalem in the vally of Josaphat is a church under the ground, like to the shrouds in Pauls, where the sepulchre of the virgin Mary is: the staires be very broad, and upon the staires going downe are two sepulchres: upon the left hand lieth Josaphat, and upon the right hand

lieth Joachim and Anna, the father and mother of the virgin Mary.

Going out of the valley of Josaphat we came to mount Olivet, where Christ praied unto his father before his death: and there is to be seene (as they tolde me) the water & blood that fell from the eyes of Christ. A litle higher upon the same mount is the place where the Apostles slept, and watched not. At the foot of the mount is the place where Christ was imprisoned.

Upon the mountaine also is the place where Christ stood when he wept over Jerusalem, and where he ascended into heaven.

Now having seene all these monuments, I with my company set from Jerusalem, the 20 day of August, and came againe to Joppa the 22 of the same moneth, where wee tooke shipping presently for Tripolis, and in foure dayes we came to Mecina the place where the ships lie that come for Tripolis.

The citie of Tripolis is a mile and a halfe within the land, so that no ship can come further then Mecina: so that night I came thither, where I lay nine daies for passage, and at last we imbarked our selves in a good ship of Venice called the new Nave Ragasona. We entred the ship the second of September, the fourth we set saile, the seventh we came to Salina, which is 140 miles from Tripolis: there we stayed foure dayes to take in more lading, in which meane time I fell sicke of an ague, but recovered againe, I praise God.

Salina is a ruinated citie, and was destroyed by the Turke ten yeeres past: there are in it now but seventeene persons, women and children. A litle from this citie of Salina is a salt piece of ground, where the water groweth salt that raineth upon it.

Thursday the 21 of September, we came to Missagh, & there we stayed eight dayes for our lading: the 18 of September before we came to Missagh, and within ten miles of the towne, as we lay at an anker, because the winde was contrary, there came a great boat full of men to boord us, they made an excuse to seeke for foure men which (they said) our ship had taken from theirs about Tripolis, but our captaine would not suffer any of them to come in to us.

The next morning they came to us againe with a great gally, manned with 500 men at ye least, whereupon our

captaine sent the boat to them with twelve men to know their pleasure: they said they sought for 4 men, and therefore would talke with our maister: so then the maisters mate was sent them, and him they kept, and went their way: the next morning they came againe with him, & with three other gallies, and then would needes speake with our captaine, who went to them in a gowne of crimson damaske, and other very brave apparell, and five or sixe other gentlemen richly appparelled also. They having the Turks safe conduct, shewed it to the captaine of the gallies, and laid it upon his head, charging him to obey it: so with much adoe, and with the gift of 100 pieces of golde we were quit of them, and had our man againe.

That day as aforesaid, we came to Missagh, and there stayed eight dayes, and at last departed towards Candie, with a scant winde.

The 11 day of October we were boorded with foure gallies, manned with 1200 men, which also made a sleevellesse arrant, and troubled us very much, but our captaines pasport, and the gift of 100 chekins discharged all.

The 27 of October we passed by Zante with a merrie winde, the 29 by Corfu, and the third of November we arrived at Istria, and there we left our great ship, and tooke small boates to bring us to Venice.

The 9 of November I arrived again at Venice in good health, where I staid nine daies, and the 25 of the same moneth I came to Augusta, and staid there but one day.

The 27 of November I set towards Nuremberg where I came the 29, and there staid till the 9 of December, and was very well interteined of the English marchants there: and the governors of the towne sent me and my company sixteene gallons of excellent good wine.

From thence I went to Frankford, from Frankford to Collen, from Collen to Arnarn, from Arnarn to Utreight, from Utreight to Dort, from Dort to Antwerpe, from Antwerpe to Flushing, from Flushing to London, where I arrived upon Twelfe eve in safetie, and gave thanks to God, having finished my journey to Jerusalem and home againe, in the space of nine moneths and five dayes.

The passeport made by the great Maister of Malta unto the Englishmen in the barke Raynolds. 1582.

FRIER HUGO of Loubeux Verdala, by the grace of God, master of the holy house, the hospital of S. John at Jerusalem, and an humble keeper of the poore of Jesus Christ, to all & every prince ecclesiastical & secular, archbishops, bishops, Dukes, Marqueses, Barons, Capteines, Vicelords, Maiors, Castellanes, Admirals, and whatsoever patrons of Gallies, or other greater shippes, and governors of cities, potentates and magistrates, and other officers and persons whatsoever, of what dignitie, degree, state and condition soever they be, dwelling in all places and landes, greeting.

We make it knowne, and in the word of truth do witnesse, that in the moneth of May last past, our gallies came on the voyage from Barbarie, where having commandement to succour a little ship of the Christians which was driven over into that part, being arrived upon this Iland on the West part they found one English ship under the charge of the worshipfull John Keele, and David Fillie master: and our men willing to know what ship it was, they seemed to put themselves in order for their defence, doubting that the said our gallies were of the enemies, & therefore one mariner attempted contrary to the will of the worshipfull John Keele, and David Fillie maister, and had shot off a piece of artillerie against one of the said gallies, and because she would not strike amaine her sayle, according to the will of the saide worshipfull John Keele, and David Fillie master, the said ship was brought backe again unto the present port of Malta, according to the order of the reverend generall of the said gallies: and in being there, maister Inquisitor staid it by authoritie of the holy office, and in that behalfe by the holinesse of our Lord pope Gregorie the thirteenth, in the end was licenced to depart on her voyage. They therefore the said worshipfull John Keele and David Fillie, in the name and behalfe of the worshipfull master Edward Osborne Alderman, and Richard Staper, English marchants of the noble citie of London, have humbly besought together with Thomas Wilkinson the purser, pilots, master and mariners, that we would give our letters patents, and safe conducts, that they might goe and returne, when they shall see opportunitie, with their goods and mer-

chandizes at their pleasure : whereupon the thing seeming unto us just, and that it might be for the profite of our religion, and of these strangers, by the tenor of these presents we have granted the same to them : yet, with the conditions hereunder written. viz. 3

That every time the said marchants of the said ship, or with any other, shall not bring such marchandize as is forbidden, and that by sufficient prooffe and letters testimoniall it appeareth that they are free from the infections of the plague, they may victuall themselves with all necessarie victuals, and traffike with us, and in this Iland and dominion, and afterwarde may depart and follow their voyage whither they will into the Levant or else where, as all other vessels, and especially of France and other nations do, and sell and buy whatsoever marchandize they shal thinke good.

Item, that they may bring powder for cannon and harquebush, saltpeeter, cole of Newcastle, plates of lattin, tinne, steele, yron, common karsies white, course canvas to make saile for the gallies, balles of yron for shot, fine milstones, trees & masts for gallies, litle and others, and in conclusion, having seene that they for the time of their abode here, did behave themselves like faithfull and catholike Christians, & that his holines hath allowed the safeconduct of the great Turke to them granted for feare of the Turkish armie, and other vessels of the enemye, submitting our selves to the pleasures of his holinesse, and especially because our people have occasion to passe by divers places so farre off, as England, Flanders, and all parts Westwards, and in other places, we have vouchsafed to make these our letters patents, as our faithfull assistant, so as more surely, and without let they may go and returne when they shall thinke good, with the said ship or with others at their pleasure. We therefore pray all and every of your subjects effectually that by what part soever of your jurisdiction, unto the which the said worshipfull John Keele and David Fillie by name abovesaid, with the ship and mariners of the said principall place or other, shall have accesse, saile, & passe, and come safely with libertie without any disturbance or other impediment, that you give leave, and cause leave to be given that they may passe, stay and returne, and when they please, depart, in such sort, that for our love & contentation the said worshipfull John Keele, with the ship and mariners



have no let, hinderance, or retention, also that you give all helpe and favour, a thing worthy of your justice, and to us most acceptable, to be recompenced with equall and greater service, when upon occasion it shalbe required.

And finally, we command all, and whatsoever religious people, and brothers of our religion, of whatsoever condition, degree, and state they be, and all other receivers and procurators, in all and whatsoever our priories deputed, and to be deputed by vertue of the holy obedience, and all our people, and all that are subject to the jurisdiction of our religion, that in, and by the same they hold, and repute the said worshipfull John Keele in the name as abovesaid, the ship, mariners, and marchandize, without let in the same their voyage, or in any other place, that they be not molested, nor in any wise hindered, but that in all their causes and businesse they be of you holpen, and furthered continually. In wittenesse whereof, our seale of government is impressed to these presents in blacke waxe. Given at Malta in our Convent, the twelfth of the moneth of July, in the yeeere 1582.

The Queenes Commission under her great seale, to her servant master William Hareborne, to be her majesties Ambassadour or Agent, in the partes of Turkie. 1582.

ELIZABETH, by the clemencie of the most good and most great God, the only creator and governour of all things, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, invincible, and most mightie defender of the true faith, against all Idolaters falsly professing the name of Christ, to all and singular persons, to whose sight and view these our present letters may come, greeting. Whereas the most renowned, and most invincible Prince Zuldan Murad Can, the most mighty governour of the kingdom of Turkie, and Monarch of the East Empire, hath entered into league and friendship with us, (which we for our part, as much as lieth in us, doe purpose solemnly, and inviolable to keepe in all times to come) and whereas for the better countenancing and authorizing of the same, the foresayd renowned Emperour hath graunted unto our subjects free libertie of traffique, in all the partes of his sacred Empire, with as ample and large a grant of privileges, as is given to other good Princes our neighbours and confederates, the grant of which privileges, we taking very thankfully, and acceptably, are certainly, and thoroughly determined

to keepe and mainetaine, with the like goodnesse and curtesie of minde, desiring nothing more, then with an honourable respect to nourish, and deserve the benevolent affections of good Princes toward us : Know ye, that wee thinking well, and having good confidence in the singular trustinesse, obedience, wisdom, and disposition of our welbeloved servaunt William Hareborne, one of the Esquiers of our body, towards us, and our service, doe by these presents, make, ordaine and constitute him our true and undoubted Orator, Messenger, Deputie, and Agent. Giving and granting unto him power and authoritie, in our name, and for us, to confirme the foresaid league of friendship, to take into his hands, and to ratifie the grant of the privileges, and to commaund, and enjoyne by the authoritie of our Majestie, all and singular our Subjects trading and dealing in any of the coastes and kingdomes of that Empire, that as long as they remaine in traffique with his subjects, they be obedient to the prescription and order of the foresayd privileges, applying themselves in all things, and through all things, to such dueties and services as appertaine to so great a league and friendship, and the offenders agaynst this our league to receive justice, and punishment accordingly. We further give unto him power and authoritie over all and singuler our Subjects, dealing, and using traffique in any place or part whatsoever, subject to the gouvernement of that Empire, to appoint the places of their traffiques, in what Haven or Citie it shall please him, and to prohibite them from all other places, and wheresoever their traffiques are appointed to bee kept, there to make and create Consuls or Governours, to enact lawes and statutes, by the vertue and tenor whereof all our foresayd subjects, and every one of them, shall both publikely and privately use and behave themselves, to correct and punish the breakers of those lawes : and last of all, to doe and fulfill all and singular things whatsoever, which shall seeme requisite and convenient for the honest and orderly government of our said subjects, and of the maner of their traffique in those parts. Promising assuredly, and in the word of a Prince, that whatsoever shall be done of our sayd Orator and Agent, in all, or in any of the premisses, not repugnant and contrary to our lawes, shall be accepted, ratified, and confirmed by us. In witnesse whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents, and our

seale thereunto to be appensed. Given at our Castle of Windsore, the 20. day of November, in the yeere of Christ 1582. and of our raigne the 24.

The Queenes Letter to the great Turke 1582. written in commendation of Master Hareborne, when he was sent Ambassadour.

ELIZABETH by the grace of the most mightie God and only creator of heaven and earth, of England, France, and Ireland Queene, the most invincible and most mighty defender of the Christian faith against all kind of idolatries of all that live among the Christians and falsly professe the name of Christ, unto the most Imperiall and most invincible prince, Sultan Murad Can, the most mighty ruler of the kingdom of Turkie, sole above all, and most soveraigne Monarch of the East Empire, greeting.

Whereas at our request your Imperiall Majestie in the yeere of our Saviour Jesus 1580. hath entered into a league of peace with us, whereunto was united a most large & bountifull grant of certaine privileges, by benefite whereof our subjects may with all securitie most safely and freely travell by Sea and land into all and singular parts of your Musulmanlike Empire, and in the same exercising the trade of merchandise, may traffique, dwell, remaine, depart from thence, and returne thither at their pleasure, and in all places be maintained and defended from all damage of bodies and goods, by such as are in authoritie under your Imperiall Majestie: we thankfully and gratefully receiving the benefite of so great a privilege, as much as in us lieth doe approve and confirme the same, promising in the worde of a Prince, that wee will keepe the said league perfect and inviolable, and will cause our subjects so to use the grant of the privileges given unto them, as your Imperiall Majestie shall never have occasion to repent you of your most princely liberalitie. And because the force of this grant, in the judgement of both our majesties, seemeth rather to consist in the use thereof, then in the wordes, we thought good to send unto your Imperiall majestie this our ambassadour William Hareborne, one of the Esquiers of our body, which both on our behalfe should yeeld thanks unto your majestie, and also that we might use his good indeavour for the establishing of such order in our subjects trade of merchandise, as well in your Imperiall citie of

Constantinople, as in other places of your Musulmanlike Empire, as according to the prescript of the privileges is granted by your princely majesties goodnesse, and shall be for the benefite of both our subjects. For performance whereof, because hee standeth in neede of your Imperiall Majesties authoritie, wee earnestly beseech the same, that you would cause all those which bee in authoritie under your Highnesse, by all their best meanes to aide and assist this our Ambassadour in executing this your Imperiall Majesties pleasure, for unto him wee have committed this charge: wherein how honestly hee will discharge his credite toward both our Majesties, I no whit stand in doubt: to whom also our pleasure is, that all our subjects shall bee obedient, as farre as the grant of your Imperiall majestie doeth permit. Moreover, whereas that woorthie personage Mustafa, your Imperiall majesties Interpreter, hath taken speciall paines for the procuring of this league betweene us, wee earnestly beseech you that for our sakes your Imperiall Majestie would vouchsafe to advance him unto the degree of the Mustafaraks or chiefe pensioners. If in these and in all other honest causes, our aforesayde Agent and our subjectes shall finde your Imperiall Highnesses favour, a noble traffique will flourish betweene these nations, and wee (if by any way wee may stand your State in steade) will alwayes most willingly be readie to requite this your Majesties favour and good will with all kinde of good offices. Almighty God the maker of the world preserve and keepe your Imperiall Majestie, &c.

A Letter of the Queenes Majestie to Alli Bassa the Turkes high Admirall, sent by her ambassadour M. William Hareborne, and delivered unto him aboard his gallie in the Arsenal.

ELIZABETHA, &c. Illustrissimo viro Alli Bassa, magni Musulmanici Cæsaris Admiralio, salutem & successus fortunatos. Non ignotum esse Excellentiae vestrae arbitramur, privilegia quædam à potentissimo Cæsare Musulmanico domino vestro clementissimo subditis nostris Anglicis concessa esse, ut illis liceat in omnibus imperii Musulmanici provinciis tutò & securè manere ac negotiari: non aliter quàm hoc ipsum Francis, Polonis, Venetis, Germanis antea indultum est. Qua ex causa nos Gulielmum Hareborne nobis dilectum, è corporis custodibus unum, ac multis nominibus ornatum ad inclytam Constantino-

polis civitatem pro agente misimus : qui ex privilegiorum prædictorum præscripto nostras & subditorum nostrorum res in illis locis constitueret. Facere igitur non potuimus, quin Excellentia vestra Guilielmum hunc, pro ea qua apud magnum Cæsarem polles autoritate, commendaremus : petentes summopere ut tutò in mari sine Classariorum vestrorum violentia, & securè in portibus absque ministrorum rapinis & injuria, tam ipse quàm omnes Angli subditi nostri possint versari : uti pro tenore literarum patentium à magno Cæsare concessarum illis licere ex illarum conspectione perspicuum esse potest. Gratisimum ergo nobis excellentia vestra fecerit, si portuum omnium, aliorumque locorum, qui vestra jurisdictioni parent, custodibus, item classium & navium præfectis omnibus mandare velit, ut Guilielmus iste, ilique Angli subditi nostri cum in illorum erunt potestate, amicè & humaniter tractarentur. Quemadmodum nos vicissim omnes magni Cæsaris subditos omni humanitatis genere tractabimus, si in Oceani maria, aliave loca venerint, quæ nostro parent imperio. Postremo excellentiam vestram pro eo quem in nostros extendet favore iis omnibus officiis prosequemur, quæ à gratissima principe in optime de se merentes debent proficisci. Benè & fœliciter valeas. Datum è castro nostro Windesorii die vicessimo mensis Novembris, Anno Jesu Christi salvatoris nostri 1582. Regni verò nostri vicessimo quarto.

A briefe Remembrance of things to be indevoured at Constantinople, and in other places in Turkie, touching our Clothing and our Dying, and things that bee incident to the same, and touching ample vent of our naturall commodities, & of the labour of our poore people withall, and of the generall enriching of this Realme : drawn by M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple, and given to a friend that was sent into Turkie 1582.

1 ANILE wherewith we colour Blew to be brought into this realme by seed or roote.

2 And the Arte of compounding the same.

3 And also all other herbes used in dying in like maner to bee brought in.

4 And all Trees, whose Leaves, Seedes, or Barkes, or Wood doe serve to that use, to be brought into this realme by Seed or Roote.



5 All little Plants and Buskes serving to that use to be brought in.

6 To learne to know all earths and minerals forren used in dying, and their naturall places, for possible the like may here be found upon sight.

7 Also with the materials used in dying, to bring in the excellencie of the arte of dying.

8 To procure from Muhaisira a citie in Ægypt to Constantinople, the seed of Sesamum the herbe, and the same into this realme. Common trade is betweene Alexandria and Constantinople, and therefore you may easily procure the seeds. Of this seed much oyle is made, and many mills set on worke about the same in the sayd Muhaisira, and if this seede may prosper in England, infinite benefite to our Clothing trade may rise by the same. This citie is situate upon Nilus the river, and thence this is brought to Venice and to divers other Cities of Italie, and to Antwerpe.

9 To note all kindes of clothing in Turkie, and all degrees of their labour in the same.

10 To endeavour rather the vent of Kersies, then of other Clothes as a thing more beneficiall to our people.

11 To endeavour the sale of such our clothes as bee coloured with own owne naturall colours as much as you can, rather then such as be coloured with forren colours.

12 To seeke out a vent for our Bonettos, a cap made for Barbarie, for that the poore people may reape great profite by the trade.

13 To endeavour vent of knit Stocks made of Norwich yarne, & of other yarne, which brought to great trade, may turne our poore people to great benefite, besides the vent of the substance, of our colours, and of our divers labour.

14 To endeavor a vent of our Saffron for the benefit of our poore people: for a large vent found, it setteth many on worke.

Remembrances for master S. to give him the better occasion to informe himselfe of some things in England, and after of some other things in Turkie, to the great profite of the Common weale of this Countrey. Written by the foresayd master Richard Hakluyt, for a principall English Factor at Constantinople 1582.

SINCE all men confesse (that be not barbarously bred) that men are borne as well to seeke the common commoditie

of their Countrey, as their owne private benefite, it may seeme follie to perswade that point, for each man meaneth so to doe. But wherein men should seeke the common commoditie, and what way, and by what meane that is to bee brought about, is the point or summe of the matter, since every good man is ready to imploy his labour. This is to bee done by an infinite sort of meanes, as the number of things bee infinite that may bee done for common benefite of the Realme. And as the chiefe things so to bee done be divers, so are they to bee done by divers men, as they bee by wit and maner of education more fit, or lesse fit, for this and for that. And for that of many things that tend to the common benefite of the State, some tend more, and some lesse, I finde that no one thing, after one other, is greater then Clothing, and the things incident to the same. And understanding that you are of right good capacitie, and become a Factor at Constantinople, and in other partes in Turkie, I finde no man fitter of all the English Factors there, then you. And therefore I am so bold to put you in minde, and to tell you wherein with some indeavour you may chaunce to doe your Countrey much good, and give an infinite sorte of the poore people occasion to pray for you here throughout the Realme: this that I meane is in matter of Cloth, &c.

- 1 FIRST, you cannot denie but that this Realme yeeldeth the most fine Wooll, the most soft, the most strong Wooll, the most durable in Cloth, and most apte of nature of all other to receive Die, and that no Island or any one kingdome so small doeth yeeld so great abundance of the same: and that no Wooll is lesse subject to mothes, or to fretting in presse, then this, as the old Parliament robes of Kings, & of many noble Peeres to be shewed may plainly testifie.
- 2 There is no commoditie of this Realme that may set so many poore subjects on worke, as this doeth, that doeth bring in so much treasure, and so much enrich the merchant, and so much employ the Navie of this Realme, as this commoditie of our Wooll doeth.

Ample and full Vent of this noble and rich commoditie is it that the common weale of this realme doeth require.

Spaine nowe aboundeth with Wools, and the same are Clothed. Turkie hath Wools, and so have divers pro-

vinces of Christendome and of Heathenesse, and cloth is made of the same in divers places.

1 But if England have the most fine, and the most excellent Wools of the world in all respects (as it cannot bee denied, but it hath) 2 If there may bee added to the same, excellent artificiall, and true making, and excellent dying, 3 Then no doubt but that we shall have vent for our Clothes, although the rest of the world did abound much more with Wool then it doeth, and although their workmanship and their dying were in every degree equal with ours of England, unlesse the labour of our people imployed that way, and the materials used in dying should be the cause of the contrary by dearth.

But if Forren nations turne their Wools, inferiour to ours, into truer and more excellent made cloth, and shall die the same in truer, surer, and more excellent, and more delectable colours, then shall they sell and make ample vent of their Clothes, when the English cloth of better wooll shall rest unsold, to the spoyle of the Merchant, of the Clothier, and of the breeder of the wooll, and to the turning to bag and wallet of the infinite number of the poore people imployed in clothing in severall degrees of labour here in England.

Which things wayed, I am to tell you what things I wish you in this Realme, and after in Turkie, to indeavour from time to time, as your laisure may permit the same.

Before you goe out of the Realme, that you learne :

1 To know wooll, all kind of clothes made in this realme, and all other employments of wooll, home or forren, be ye same in Felt clokes, felt hats, in the red knit cap for Barbarie, called Bonettos rugios colorados, or whatsoever, &c.

All the deceits in Clothmaking ; as the sorting together of Wools of severall natures, some of nature to shrinke, some to hold out, which causeth cloth to cockle and lie uneven.

The evill sorting of threed of good or bad wool, some tootoo hard spun, some tootoo soft spun delivered to be woven.

The faults in Weaving.

The faults in Walking, Rowing, and Burling, and in Racking the Clothes above measure upon the Teintors : all which faults may be learned of honest men, which

faults are to be knowen to the merchant, to be shunned and not to be used.

2 Then to learne of the Diers to discerne all kind of colours; as which be good and sure, and which will not hold: which be faire, which not; which colours by the dearth of the substances bee deare, and which by reason of the cheapenesse of the Materials with which they be died, be cheape colours.

3 Then to take the names of all the materials and substaunces used in this Citie or in the realme, in dying of cloth or silke.

To learne to know them, as which be good, which bad.

And what colours they die.

And what prices they be of.

And of them which bee the Naturals of this Realme, and in what part of the Realme they are to be had.

And of all the forren materials used in dying to know the very naturall places of them, and the plentie or the scarcenesse of each of them.

These things superficially learned in the realme before you goe, you are the fitter in forren parts to serve your Countrey, for by this meanes you have an enterie into the thing that I wish you to travell in.

What you shall doe in Turkie, besides the businesse of your Factorship.

1 FORASMUCH as it is reported that the Woollen clothes died in Turkie bee most excellently died, you shall send home into this realme certaine Mowsters or pieces of Shew to be brought to the Diers hall, there to be shewed, partly to remooove out of their heads, the tootoo great opinion they have conceived of their owne cunning, and partly to moove them for shame to endeavour to learne more knowledge to the honour of their countrey of England, and to the universall benefit of the realme.

2 You shall devise to amend the Dying of England, by carying hence an apte yoong man brought up in the Arte, or by bringing one or other from thence of skill, or rather to devise to bring one for Silkes, and another for Wooll and for Woollen cloth, and if you cannot worke this by ordinarie meanes, then to worke it by some great Bassas meane, or if your owne credite there be not sufficient by meane of your small abode in those parties, to worke it by the helpe of the French ambassador there resident,

for which purpose you may insinuate your selfe into his acquaintance, and otherwise to leave no meane unsought that tendeth to this end, wherein you are to doe as circumstances may permit.

3 Then to learne to know all the materials and substances that the Turkes use in dying, be they of Herbes, simple or compound, be they Plants, Barkes, Wood, Berries, Seedes, Graines, or Minerall matter, or what els soever. But before all other, such things as yeeld those famous colours that carrie such speciall report of excellencie, that our Merchaunts may bring them to this realme by ordinarie trade, as a right meane for the better vent of our clothes.

4 To know the use of those, and where the naturall place of them and of ech of them is, I meane the place where ech of them groweth or is bred.

5 And in any wise, if Anile that coloureth blew be a naturall commodity of those parts, and if it be compounded of an herbe, to send the same into this realme by seed or by root in barrell of earth, with all the whole order of sowing, setting, planting, replanting, and with the compounding of the same, that it may become a naturall commodity in this realme as Woad is, to this end that the high price of forreine Woad (which devoureth yeerely great treasure) may be brought downe. So shall the marchant buy his cloth lesse deare, and so he shalbe able to occupy with lesse stocke, be able to affoord cloth cheaper, make more ample vent, and also become a greater gainer himselfe, and all this to the benefit of this realme.

6 To do the like with herbe & plant, or tree that in dying is of any excellent use, as to send the same by seed, berry, root, &c: for by such meanes Saffron was brought first into this realme, which hath set many poore on worke, and brought great wealth into this realme. Thus may Sumack, the plant wherewith the most excellent blacks be died in Spaine, be brought out of Spaine, and out of the Ilands of the same, if it will grow in this more colde climat. For thus was Woad brought into this realme, and came to good perfection, to the great losse of the French our olde enemies. And it doth marvelously import this realme to make naturall in this realme such things as be special in the dying of our clothes. And to speake of such things as colour blew, they are of



greatest use, and are grounds of the most excellent colours, and therefore of all other to be brought into this realme, be it Anile or any other materiall of that quality.

7 And because yellowes and greenes are colours of small prices in this realme, by reason that Olde and Greenweed wherewith they be died be naturall here, and in great plenty, therefore to bring our clothes so died to common sale in Turkie were to the great benefit of the marchant, and other poore subjects of this realme, for in sale of such our owne naturall colours we consume not our treasure in forren colours, and yet we sell our owne trifles dearely perhaps.

8 The woolles being naturall, and excellent colours for dying becomming by this meanes here also naturall, in all the arte of Clothing then we want but one onely speciall thing. For in this so temperate a climat our people may labor the yere thorowout, whereas in some regions of the world they cannot worke for extreme heat, as in some other regions they cannot worke for extreme colde a good part of the yere. And the people of this realme by the great and blessed abundance of victuall are cheaply fed, and therefore may afoord their labour cheape. And where the Clothiers in Flanders by the flatnesse of their rivers cannot make Walkmilles for their clothes, but are forced to thicken and dresse all their clothes by the foot and by the labour of men, whereby their clothes are raised to an higher price, we of England have in all Shires store of milles upon falling rivers. And these rivers being in temperate zones are not dried up in Summer with drought and heat as the rivers be in Spaine and in hotter regions, nor frozen up in Winter as all the rivers be in all the North regions of the world: so as our milles may go and worke at all times, and dresse clothes cheaply. Then we have also for scowring our clothes earths and claies, as Walkers clay, and the clay of Osborne little inferior to Sope in scowring and in thicking. Then also have we some reasonable store of Alum and Copporas here made for dying, and are like to have increase of the same. Then we have many good waters apt for dying, and people to spin and to doe the rest of all the labours we want not. So as there wanteth, if colours might be brought in and made naturall, but onely Oile: the want whereof if any man could devise to supply at the full with any thing that might become naturall in this realme, he whatsoever he

were that could bring it about, might deserve immortall fame in this our Common wealth, and such a devise was offered to the Parliament and refused, because they denied to endow him with a certaine liberty, some others having obtained the same before, that practised to worke that effect by Radish seed, which onely made a triall of small quantity, and that went no further, to make that Oile in plenty: and now he that offered this devise was a marchant, and is dead, and withall the devise is dead with him.

It is written by one that wrote of Afrike, that in Egypt in a city called Muhaisira there be many milles employed in making of Oile of the seed of an herbe called Sesamum. Pena and Lobell, Physicians, write in our time, that this herbe is a coddred herbe full of oily seed, and that there is plenty of this seede brought out of Egypt to divers Cities in Italy. If this herbe will prosper in this realme, our marchants may easily bring of it, &c.

9 Having heerein thus troubled you by raising to your minde the consideration of certaine things, it shall not be impertinent to tell you that it shall not be amisse that you note all the order of the degrees of labour used in Turkey, in the arte of Clothing, and to see if any way they excell in that profession our people of these parts, and to bring notice of the same into this realme.

10 And if you shall finde that they make any cloth of any kind not made in this realme, that is there of great use, then to bring of the same into this realme some Mowsters, that our people may fall into the trade, and prepare the same for Turkie: for the more kinds of cloth we can devise to make, the more ample vent of our commoditie we shall have, and the more sale of the labour of our poore subjects that els for lacke of labour become idle and burdenous to the common weale, and hurtfull to many: and in England we are in our clothing trade to frame our selves according to the desires of forren nations, be it that they desire thicke or thinne, broad or narowe, long or short, white or blacke. 11 But with this proviso alwayes, that our cloth passe out with as much labour of our people as may be, wherein great consideration ought to be had: for (if vent might so admit it) as it were the greatest madnesse in the world for us to vent our wooll not clothed, so were it madnesse to vent our wooll in part or in the whole turned into

broad cloth, if we might vent the same in Kersies: for there is great difference in profit to our people betweene the clothing of a sacke of wooll in the one, and the like sacke of wooll in the other, of which I wish the marchant of England to have as great care as he may for the universall benefit of the poore: and the turning of a sacke of wooll into Bonets is better then both &c. And also not to cary out of the realme any cloth white, but died if it may be, that the subjects of this realme may take as much benefit as is possible, and rather to seeke the vent of the clothes died with the naturall colours of England, then such as be died with forren colours.

12 And if of necessity we must be forced to receive certaine colours from forren parts, for that this climat will not breed them, I wish that our marchants procure Anile and such other things to be planted in like climats where now it growes, in divers other places, that this realme may have that brought in for as base prices as is possible, and that falling out with one place we may receive the same from another, and not buy the same at the second or the third hand &c. For if a commodity that is to be had of meere necessity, be in one hand, it is dearely purchased.

1 How many severall colours be died is to be learned of our Diers before you depart.

2 Then how many of those colours England doth die of her owne naturall home materials and substances, and how many not.

3 Then to bring into this realme herbs and plants to become naturall in our soiles, that may die the rest of the colours, that presently of our owne things here growing we can not yet die, and this from all forren places.

4 There is a wood called Logwood or Palo Campechio, it is cheape and yeeldeth a glorious blew, but our workmen can not make it sure. This wood you must take with you, and see whether the Silke diers or Wooll diers in Turkey can doe it, with this one you may enrich your selfe very much, and therefore it is to be endeavoured earnestly by you. It may bring downe the price of Woad and of Anile.

Other some things to be remembred.

If you can finde out at Tripoly in Syria or elsewhere a vent for the Cappes called in Barbarie, Bonettos colorados

rugios, which is a red Scottish cap as it were without brims, you should do your countrey much good: for as a sacke of wooll turned into fine Devonshire kersies doth set many more people on worke then a sacke spunne for broad cloth in a grosser threed, so a sacke of wooll turned into those Bonets doth set many more poore people on worke, then a sacke turned into Kersies, by reason of the knitting. And therefore if you can indeavour that, you worke great effect. And no doubt that a marvellous vent may be found out of them into Afrike by the way of Alexandria, and by Alcayer Southeast and Southwest thence.

2 And by the vent of our knit hose of Woollen yarne, Woorsted yarne, and of Linnen thred, great benefit to our people may arise, and a great value in fine Kersies and in those knit wares may be couched in a small roome in the ship. And for these things our people are growen apt, and by indeavour may be drawen to great trade.

3 Saffron the best of the universall world groweth in this realme, and forasmuch as it is a thing that requireth much labour in divers sorts, and setteth the people on worke so plentifully, I wish you to see whether you can finde out ample vent for the same, since it is gone out of great use in those parts. It is a spice that is cordiall, and may be used in meats, and that is excellent in dying of yellow silks. This commodity of Saffron groweth fifty miles from Tripoli in Syria, on an high hill called in those parts Garian, so as there you may learne at that port of Tripoli the value of the pound, the goodnesse of it, and the places of the vent. But it is sayd that from that hill there passeth yerely of that commodity fifteene moiles laden, and that those regions notwithstanding lacke sufficiencie of that commodity. But if a vent might be found, men would in Essex about Saffronwalden and in Cambridge shire revive the trade for the benefit of the setting of the poore on work. So would they doe in Hereford shire by Wales, where the best of all England is, in which place the soile yeelds the wilde Saffron commonly, which sheweth the naturall inclination of the same soile to the bearing of the right Saffron, if the soile be manured and that way employed.

4 There is a walled towne not farre from Barbarie, called Hubbed, toward the South from the famous towne Telensin, about six miles: the inhabitants of which towne

in effect be all Diers. And it is sayd that thereabout they have plenty of Anile, & that they occupy that, and also that they use there in their dyings, of the Saffron afore-sayd. The trueth whereof, in the Southerly ports of the Mediteran sea, is easily learned in your passage to Tripoli, or in returne from thence homeward you may understand it. It is reported at Saffronwalden that a Pilgrim purposing to do good to his country, stole an head of Saffron, and hid the same in his Palmers staffe, which he had made hollow before of purpose, and so he brought this root into this realme, with venture of his life: for if he had bene taken, by the law of the countrey from whence it came, he had died for the fact. If the like love in this our age were in our people that now become great travellers, many knowledges, and many trades, and many herbes and plants might be brought into this realme that might doe the realme good. And the Romans having that care, brought from all coasts of the world into Italie all arts and sciences, and all kinds of beasts and fowles, and all herbs, trees, busks and plants that might yeeld profit or pleasure to their countrey of Italie. And if this care had not bene heretofore in our ancesters, then had our life bene savage now, for then we had not had Wheat nor Rie, Peaze nor Beanes, Barley nor Oats, Peare nor Apple, Vine nor many other profitable and pleasant plants, Bull nor Cow, Sheepe nor Swine, Horse nor Mare, Cocke nor Hen, nor a number of other things that we enjoy, without which our life were to be sayd barbarous: for these things and a thousand that we use more the first inhabitants of this Iland found not here. And in time of memory things have bene brought in that were not here before, as the Damaske rose by Doctour Linaker king Henry the seventh and king Henrie the eights Physician, the Turkey cocks and hennes about fifty yeres past, the Artichowe in time of king Henry the eight, and of later time was procured out of Italy the Muske rose plant, the plumme called the Perdigwena, and two kindes more by the Lord Cromwell after his travell, and the Abricot by a French Priest one Wolfe Gardiner to king Henry the eight: and now within these foure yeres there have bene brought into England from Vienna in Austria divers kinds of flowers called Tulipas, and those and other procured thither a little before from Constantinople by an excellent man called M. Carolus Clusius. And it is sayd that since



we traded to Zante that the plant that beareth the Coren is also brought into this realme from thence : and although it bring not fruit to perfection, yet it may serve for pleasure and for some use, like as our vines doe, which we cannot well spare, although the climat so colde will not permit us to have good wines of them. And many other things have bene brought in, that have degenerated by reason of the colde climat, some other things brought in have by negligence bene lost. The Archbishop of Canturburie Edmund Grindall, after he returned out of Germany, brought into this realme the plant of Tamariske from thence, and this plant he hath so increased that there be here thousands of them ; and many people have received great health by this plant : and if of things brought in such care were had, then could not the first labour be lost. The seed of Tabacco hath bene brought hither out of the West Indies, it groweth heere, and with the herbe many have bene eased of the reumes, &c. Each one of a great number of things were woorthy of a journey to be made into Spaine, Italy, Barbarie, Egypt, Zante, Constantinople, the West Indies, and to divers other places neerer and further off then any of these, yet forasmuch as the poore are not able, and for that the rich settled at home in quiet will not, therefore we are to make sute to such as repaire to forren kingdomes, for other businesses, to have some care heerein, and to set before their eyes the examples of these good men, and to endeavour to do for their parts the like, as their speciall businesses may permit the same. Thus giving you occasion by way of a little remembrance, to have a desire to do your countrey good, you shall, if you have any inclination to such good, do more good to the poore ready to starve for reliefe, then ever any subject did in this realme by building of Almshouses, and by giving of lands and goods to the reliefe of the poore. Thus may you helpe to drive idlenesse the mother of most mischiefs out of the realme, and winne you perpetuall fame, and the prayer of the poore, which is more woorth then all the golde of Peru and of all the West Indies.

The voyage of the Susan of London to Constantinople, wherein the worshipfull M. William Harborne was sent first Ambassadour unto Sultan Murad Can, the great Turke, with whom he continued as her Majesties Ligier almost sixe yeeres.

THE 14 of November 1582, we departed from Blackewall, bound for the Citie of Constantinople, in the tall shippe called the Susan of London: the Master whereof was Richard Parsons, a very excellent and skilfull man in his facultie. But by occasion of contrary weather we spent two moneths before we could recover the Kowes in the Isle of Wight. Where the 14 of January following we tooke in the worshipfull M. William Hareborne her Majesties Ambassadour to the Turke, and his company, and sailed thence to Yarmouth in the foresayd Isle of Wight. The 19 we put from Wight. The 26 we did see Cavo de Sant Vincente. The same day we were thwart of Cavo Santa Maria. The 27 we passed by Tariffa, and Gibraltar. The 28 in the morning we passed by Velez Malaga: and that night were thwart of Cavo de Gates. The 29 at night we had sight of Cavo de Palos. The 30 in the morning we did see the high land of Denia, in the kingdome of Valentia, and that night we had sight of the Iland Formentera. The 31 in the morning appeared the Iland of Cabrera. The first of February we put into a Port in Mallorca, called Porto de Sant Pedro: where they would have evill intreated us for comming into the Harbour: we thought we might have bene as bolde there as in other places of Christendome, but it proved farre otherwise. The first man we met on land was a simple Shepheard, of whom we demanded whether we might have a sheepe or such like to refresh our selves, who tolde us yea. And by such conference had with him, at the last he came aboard once or twise, and had the best cheare that we could make him: and our Ambassadour himselfe talked with him, and still he made us faire promises, but nothing at all meant to performe the same, as the end shewed. In the meane time came in a shippe of Marseils, the Master whereof did know our Ambassadour very well, with whom our Ambassadour had conference, and with his Marchants also. They came from Alger in Barbarie, which is under the gouvernement of the Great Turke. They did present our Ambassadour with an Ape, where-

fore he made very much of them, and had them often aboard. By them I suppose, he was bewrayed of his purpose as touching his message, but yet still we had faire words of the Shepheard aforesayd, and others. So that upon their words, our Purser and another man went to a Towne which was three or foure miles from the port, and there were well entertained, and had of the people very faire speeches, and such small things as could be gotten upon the sudden, and so returned to the shippe that day. Then wee were emboldened, and thought all had bene well, according to their talke. The next day, being the sixth day of Februarie, two of our Gentlemen, with one of our Marchants, and the Purser, and one of the Ambassadors men went to the Towne aforesayd, thinking to doe as the Purser and the other had done before, but it prooved contrary: for at their comming thither they had faire wordes a while, and had bread and wine, and such necessaries for their money, untill such time as they were beset with men, and the Majorcans never shewed in their countenance any such matter, but as the maner of all the people in the dominions of Spaine is, for the most part to be trecherous to us, if they thinke they have any advantage. For upon the sudden they layed handes on them, and put them in holde, as sure as might be in such a simple Towne. Then were they well guarded with men both day and night, and still deluded with faire words, & they sayd to our men it was for no hurt, but that the Viceroy of the Iland would come aboard to see the shippe. But they presently sent the Purser to the Towne of Majorca, where he was examined by the Viceroy very straightly, what their shippe and captaine were, and what voyage they intended, but he confessed nothing at all. In the meane time they in the Towne were likewise straightly examined by a Priest and other officers upon their othes: who for their othes sake declared the whole estate of their voyage. The Ambassadors man was a French man, and therefore was suffered to goe to the shippe on a message, but he could tell the Ambassador none other newes, but that the Viceroy would come aboard the shippe, and that our men should come with him, but they had another meaning. For the Marseilian Marchants were stayed in like maner in the Towne, onely to make a better shew unto us. But in the meane time, being there three or foure dayes, there

came men unto us every day, more or lesse, but one day especially there came two men on horsebacke, whom we tooke to be officers, being lusty men, and very well horsed. These men desired to speake with our Captaine (for all things that passed there were done in the name of our Captaine John Gray) for it was sayd by us there, that he was Captaine of one of her Majesties shippes: wherefore all things passed in his name: and the Ambassadour not seene in any thing but rather concealed, and yet did all, because of his tongue and good inditing in that language. For he himselfe went on land clothed in Velvet, and talked with these men, and with him ten or twelve lusty fellowes well weaponed, ech one having a Boarespeare or a Caliver, the Captaine John Gray being one of them, and our boat lying by very warely kept and ready. For then wee began to suspect, because the place was more frequented with men then it was woont. The men on horsebacke were in doubt to come neere, because hee came so well weaponed. But they bade him welcome, and gave him great salutations in words as their maner is: and demanded why he came so strong, for they sayd he needed not to feare any man in the Iland. Answer was made, that it was the maner of English Captaines to goe with their guard in strange places. Then they tolde our Ambassador (thinking him to be the Captaine) that they were sent from the Viceroy to know what they did lacke, for they promised him beefe or mutton, or any thing that was in the Iland to be had, but their purpose was to have gotten more of our men if they could, and they sayde that wee should have our men againe the next day: with such prety delusions they fed us still. Then our Ambassadour did write a letter to the Viceroy in her Majesties name, and in our Captaine John Grayes name, and not in his owne, and sent it by them, desiring him to send his men, and not to trouble him in his voyage, for he had given him no such cause, nor any of his. So these men departed with great courtesie in words on both parts. And in all this time we did see men on horsebacke and on foot in the woods and trees more then they were accustomed to be, but we could perceive nothing thereby. The next day, or the second, came either foure or sixe of the best of them as wee thought (the Viceroy excepted) and very many men besides in the fieldes, both on foot and on horse, but came not neere the water side. And

those in like order desired to speake with the Captaine, and that when he came on land the trumpets might sound : but then the Ambassadour, whom they thought to be Captaine, would not goe, nor suffer the trumpets to be sounded (for that he thought it was a trappe to take himselfe, and more of his company.) But did send one of the principall of the Marchants to talke with them. And the Captaine John Gray went also with him, not being knowen of the Spaniards, for he went as a souldiour. Thus they received of those men the like wordes as they had of the other before mentioned, who sayd we should have our men againe, for they meant us no hurt. Then our Ambassadour did write another letter, and sent it by them to the Viceroy, in like order as he did before, but he received no answeere of any of them. In all this time they had privily gathered together the principall men of the Iland, and had laboured day and night to bring downe ordinance, not making any shew of their trecherie towards us. But the same night following, we saw very many lights passe in the woods among the trees. And in the morning when the watch was broken up, being Saturday the ninth of Februarie, at faire day light, one of our men looked foorth, and saw standing on land the cariage of a piece : then was one commanded to goe into the toppe, and there he did descrie two or three pieces, and also many men on the shoare, with divers weapons that they brought. Then they suddenly tooke foure or five brasse pieces, and placed them on either side of the harborough where we should go out, and hid them with stones and bushes that we should not see them. Now I thinke the harborough not to be above the eight part of a mile over. Thus perceiving their meaning which was most plaine : wee agreed to take up our anker and goe out, and leave our men there, having none other way to take. Then our Ambassadour intreated the Master of the Marseilian, his friend, to goe on land with his boat, and to know the trueth : who satisfied his request. And at his returne he tolde us that it was very true, that they would lay holde of us if they could. Then we weighed our ankers : but having little winde, we towed the shippe forward with the boat. The Viceroy himselfe was at the water side with more then five hundred men on both sides of the harbour as we thought. And when we came out with our shippe as far as their ordinance, our Ambassadour and the Cap-



taine being in their armour, the Master commanding of the company, and trimming of the sailes, the Pilot standing on the poope, attending to his charge, with other very well furnished, and every man in order about their businesse very ready, they on land on the contrary part having a very faire piece mounted on the North side openly in all our sights, as the shippe passed by, they traversed that piece right with the maine mast or after-quarter of the shippe, and a Gunner standing by, with a lint-stocke in his hand, about foureteene or fifteene foot long, being (as we thought) ready to give fire. Our whole noise of trumpets were sounding on the poope with drumme and flute, and a Minion of brasse on the summer decke, with two or three other pieces, alwayes by our Gunners traversed mouth to mouth with theirs on land, still looking when they on land should shoot, for to answere them againe. The Pilot standing on the poope, seeing this readinesse, and the shippe going very softly, because of the calmenesse of the winde, he called to them on the South side, where the Viceroy was, and sayd unto him: Have you warres with us? If you have, it is more then we know; but by your provision it seemeth so: if you have, shoot in Gods name, and spare not, but they held all fast and shot not. Then the Viceroy himselfe held up a paper, and sayd he had a letter for our Captaine, and desired us to stay for it. Then we answered and sayd we would not, but willed him to send it by the Marseilians boat, and our men also. All this while, our trumpets, drum and flute sounded, and so we passed out in the face of them all. When they perceived that they could lay no holde on us, they presently sent to the Towne for our men, whom within lesse then three houres after they sent aboard with the sayd letter, wherein he desired our Captaine and his company not to take it in ill part, for he meant them no harme, but would have seene our shippe. His letter did import these and such like faire speeches: for it altogether contained courteous salutations, saying that he might boldly come into any port within his Iland, and that he and his would shew him what friendship they might: and that the injury that was offered was done at the request of the Shepheards and poore people of the countrey, for the more safegard of their flockes, and because it was not a thing usuall to have any such shippe to come into that port, with many other deceitfull words

in the sayd letter. Then our Ambassadour wrote unto him another letter to answere that, and gave him thanks for his men that he had sent him, and also for his good will, and sent him a present. This done, we shot off halfe a dozen pieces, hoised our sailes, and departed on our voyage. Then the Purser and the rest of our men that had beene in holde, tolde us that they did see the Captaine, and other gentlemen of the Iland, having their buskins and stockings torne from their legges, with labouring in the bushes day and night to make that sudden provision. The 12 of February we saw an Iland of Africa side called Galata, where they use to drag out of the Sea much Corall, and we saw likewise Sardinia, which is an Iland subject to Spaine. The 13 in the morning we were hard by Sardinia. The 15 we did see an Iland neere Sicilia, and an Iland on Africa side called Cysimbre. The same day likewise we saw an Iland called Pantalaria, and that night we were thwart the middle of Sicilia. The 16 at night we were as farre as Capo Passaro, which is the Southeast part of Sicilia. The 24 we were put into a port called Porto de Conte, in an Iland called Cephalonia: it is an out Iland in the dominions of Grecia, and now at this present governed by the Signory of Venice, as the rest of Grecia is under the Turke, for the most part. The 27 we came from thence, and that day arrived at Zante which is also in Grecia: for at this present wee entred the parts of Grecia. The second of March we came from Zante; and the same day were thwart of an Iland called Prodeno: and the 4 we were thwart of an Iland called Sapiientia. There standeth a faire Towne and a Castle on the maine over against it, called Modon. The same day by reason of contrary windes we put backe againe to Prodeno, because we could not fetch Sapiientia. The ninth we came from thence, and were as farre as Sapiientia againe. The tenth we were as farre shot as Cavo Matapan; and that day we entred the Archipelago, and passed thorow betweene Cerigo and Cavo Malio. This Cerigo is an Iland where one Menelaus did sometimes reigne, from whome was stollen by Paris faire Helena, and carried to Troy, as ancient Recordes doe declare. The same day we had sight of a little Iland called Bellapola, and did likewise see both the Milos, being Ilands in the Archipelago. The 11 in the morning we were hard by an Iland called Falconara, and the Iland of Antemila. The

12 in the morning we were betweene Fermentia and Zea, being both Ilands. That night wee were betweene Negroponte and Andri, being likewise Ilands. The 13 in the morning we were hard by Psara and Sarafo, being Ilands nine or tenne miles from Chio, and could not fetch Chio. So we put roome with a port in Metelin called Sigra, and about nine of the clocke at night we ankered there. The 15 we came from thence, the sixteenth we put into Porto Delfi. The port is 9 English miles to the Northward of the City of Chio, (and it may be twelve of their miles) this night we stayed in the sayd port, being in the Iland of Chio. Then went our Marchant and one or two with him to the City of Chio. And when the By, who is the governour of the Iland (and is in their language a Duke) had communed with the Marchant, and those that were with him, and understood of our arrivall within his dominion, the day following he armed his gallies, and came to welcome our Ambassadour, accompanied with the Ermine, that is, the Kings Customer, and also the French Consull, with divers of the chiefe of the City, and offered him as much friendship as he could or would desire: for he did offer to attend upon us, and towe us if need were to the Castles. The 21 we departed from thence, and that day passed by port Sigra againe. This Iland of Metelin is part of Asia, and is neere to Natolia. The 22 we passed by a head land called Baberno, and is also in Asia. And that day at night we passed by the Isle of Tenedo, part of Asia, and by another Iland called Maure. And the same day we passed thorow the straights of Galipoli, and by the Castles, and also by the Towne of Galipoli it selfe, which standeth in Europa. And that night we were in sight of Marmora which is neere Natolia, and part of Asia. The 23 in the morning we were thwart of Araclia, and that night we ankered in Silauria. The 24 in the morning the Marchant and the Pilot were set on land to goe to the City about the Ambassadors businesse, but there they could not land because we had the winde faire. That place of some is called Ponte grande, and is foure and twenty miles on this side of Constantinople, and because of the winde, they followed in the skiffe untill they came to a place called Ponte piccola, and there is a little bridge, it standeth eight Turkish miles from Constantinople, there the Marchant and the Pilot landed. At this bridge is an house of the great Turkes with a

faire Garden belonging unto it, neere the which is a point called Ponta S. Stephano, and there the shippe ankered that day. The 26 day the ship came to the seven Towers, and the 27 we came neerer. The 29 there came three gallies to bring us up further: and when the shippe came against the great Turks palace, we shot off all our ordinance to the number of foure and thirty pieces. Then landed our Ambassadour, and then we discharged foure and twenty pieces, who was received with more then fifty or threescore men on horsebacke. The ninth of April he presented the great Bassa with sixe clothes, foure cannes of silver double gilt, and one piece of fine holland, and to three other Bassas, that is to say, the second Bassa, which is a gelded man, and his name is Mahomet Bassa, to the third who married the great Turks sister, and to the fourth whom they call Abraham Bassa, to every one of these he gave foure clothes. Now, before the great Bassa, and Abraham Bassa, at their returne from the Court (and as we thinke at other times, but at that time for a certaine) there came a man in maner of a foole, who gave a great shout three or foure times, crying very hollowly, the place rebounded with the sound, and this man, say they, is a prophet of Mahomet, his armes and legges naked, on his feet he did weare wooden pattens of two sorts, in his hand, a flagge, or streamer set on a short speare painted, he carried a mat and bottels, and other trumpery at his backe, and sometimes under his arme, on his head he had a cappe of white Camels haire, flat like an helmet, written about with letters, and about his head a linnen rowle. Other servingmen there were with the sayd Bassas, with red attire on their heads, much like French hoods, but the long flappe somewhat smaller towards the end, with scuffes or plates of mettall, like unto the chape of an ancient arming sword, standing on their foreheads like other Janisaries. These Bassas entertained us as followeth: First, they brought us into a hall, there to stand on one side, and our Ambassadour and gentlemen on the other side, who sate them downe on a bench covered with carpets, the Ambassadour in the midst; on his left hand sate our gentlemen, and on his right hand the Turkes, next to the doore where their master goeth in and out: the common sort of Turkes stayed in the Court yard, not suffered to come neere us. When our Ambassadour had sitten halfe an houre, the

Bassas (who sate by themselves in an inner small roome) sent for him; to whom the Ambassadour and his gentlemen went: they all kissed his hand, and presently returned (the Ambassadour onely excepted, who stayed there, and a Turks chaus with him) with the Ambassadour and his gentlemen went in also so many of our men as there were presents to cary in, but these neither kissed his hand nor taried. After this I went to visit the church of Santa Sophia, which was the chiefe church when it was the Christians, and now is the chiefe see and church of primacie of this Turke present: before I entred I was willed to put off my shoes, to the end I should not prophane their church, I being a Christian. The pillars on both sides of the church are very costly and rich, their Pulpets seemely and handsome, two are common to preach in, the third reserved onely for their Paschall. The ground is covered with Mats, and the walles hanged with Tapistry. They have also Lamps in their churches, one in the middle of the church of exceeding greatnesse, and another in another part of the church of cleane golde, or double gilded, full as bigge as a barrel. Round about the church there is a gallery builded upon rich and stately pillars. That day I was in both the chappels, in one of the which lieth the Turkes father, and five of his sonnes in tombes right costly, with their turbents very white and cleane, shifted (as they say) every Friday, they be not on their heads, but stand on mouldes made for that purpose. At the endes, over, and about their tombes are belts, like girdles, beset with jewels. In the other chappell are foure other of his sonnes, and one daughter, in like order. In the first chappell is a thing foure foot high, covered with greene, beset with mother of pearle very richly. This is a relique of Mahomet, and standeth on the left side of the head of the great Turkes tombe. These chappels have their floores covered, and their walles hanged with Tapistrie of great price, I could value the covering and hangings of one of the chappels, at no lesse then five hundred poundes, besides their lamps hanging richly gilded. These chappels have their roofes curiously wrought with rich stone, and gilded. And there lie the bookes of their Lawes for every man to reade. The 11 day of April the shippe came to the Key of the Custome house. The 16 the Ambassadour and we his men went to the Captaine Bassa, who is Admirall of the seas, his



name is Uchali, he would not receive us into his house, but into his gallie, to deliver our present, which was as followeth: Foure pieces of cloth, and two silver pots gilt & grayen. The poope or sterne of his gally was gilded both within and without, and under his feet, and where he sate was all covered with very rich Tapestrie. Our Ambassadour and his gentlemen kissed his hand, and then the gentlemen were commanded out, and our Ambassadour sate downe by him on his left hand, and the chaus stood before him. Our men might walke in the gally fore and after, some of us taried, and some went out againe. The gally had seven pieces of brasse in her prow, small and great, she had thirty bankes or oares on either side, and at every banke or oare seven men to rowe. The 18 day the shippe went from the Key. And 21 the Admirall tooke his leave of the great Turke, being bound to the Sea with sixe and thirty gallies, very fairely beautified with gilding and painting, and beset with flags and streamers, all the which gallies discharged their ordinance: and we for his farewell gave him one and twenty pieces. Then he went to his house with his gallies, and the 22 he went to the Sea, and the Castle that standeth in the water gave him foureteene or sixteene pieces: and when he came against the Turks Seraglio he shot off all his calivers and his great pieces, and so hee went his way. The 24 our Ambassadour went to the Court, whose entertainment with the order thereof followeth. When wee came first on land there was way made for us by two or three Bassaes and divers chauses on horsebacke with their men on foot, to accompany our Ambassadour to the Court. Also they brought horses for him and his gentlemen for to ride, which were very richly furnished: and by the way there met with us other chauses to accompany us to the Court. When we came there wee passed thorow two gates, at the second gate there stood very many men with horses attending on their masters. When we came within that gate we were within a very faire Court yard, in compasse twise so bigge as Pauls Church-yard. On the right hand of the sayd Court was a faire gallerie like an Alley, and within it were placed railes and such other provision. On the left side was the like, halfe the Court over: it was divided into two parts, the innermost fairer then the other. The other part of that side is the place where the Councell doe usually sit, and at the inner end of that is a

faire place to sit in, much like unto that place in Pauls Church-yard, where the Maior and his brethren use to sit, thither was our Ambassadour brought, and set in that place. Within that sayde place is another like open roome, where hee did eate. Assoone as wee came in, wee were placed in the innermost alley of the second roome, on the left side of the Court, which was spread with carpets on the ground fourescore or fourescore and tenne foot long, with an hundred and fiftie severall dishes set thereon, that is to say, Mutton boiled and roasted, Rice diversly dressed, Fritters of the finest fashion, and dishes daintily dight with pritty pappe, with infinite others, I know not how to expresse them. We had also roasted Hennes with sundry sorts of fowles to me unknowne. The gentlemen and we sate downe on the ground, for it is their maner so to feede. There were also Greekes and others set to furnish out the roome. Our drinke was made with Rose water and Sugar and spices brewed together. Those that did serve us with it had a great bagge tied over their shoulders, with a broad belt like an arming belt full of plates of copper and gilt, with part of the sayd bagge under his arme, and the mouth in his hand: then he had a devise to let it out when he would into cuppes, when we called for drinke. The Ambassadour when hee had eaten, passed by us, with the chauses aforesayd, and sate him downe in an inner roome. This place where he sate was against the gate where we came in, and hard by the Councell chamber end, somewhat on the left side of the Court, this was at the East end of the Court, for we came in at the West. All this time our presents stood by us untill we had dined, and diner once ended, this was their order of taking up the dishes. Certaine were called in, like those of the Blacke gard in the Court of England, the Turks call them Moglans. These came in like rude and ravening Mastifs, without order or fashion, and made cleane riddance: for he whose hungry eye one dish could not fill turned two, one into the other, and thus even on the sudden was made a cleane riddance of all. Then came certaine chauses and brought our gentlemen to sit with the Ambassadour. Immediatly came officers & appointed Janisers to beare from us our presents, who caried them on the right side of the Court, and set them hard by the doore of the Privy chamber, as we call it: there all things stooode for the space of an

houre. Thus the Ambassadour and his gentlemen sate still, and to the Southward of them was a doore whereas the great Turke himselfe went in and out at, and on the South side of that doore sate on a bench all his chiefe lordes and gentlemen, and on the North side of the West gate stood his gard, in number as I gesse them a thousand men. These men have on their heads round cappes of mettall like sculles, but sharpe in the toppe, in this they have a bunch of Ostridge feathers, as bigge as a brush, with the corner or edge forward: at the lower end of these feathers was there a smaller feather, like those that are commonly worn here. Some of his gard had smal staves, & most of them were weaponed with bowes and arrowes. Here they waited, during our abode at the Court, to gard their Lord. After the Ambassadour with his gentlemen had sitten an houre and more, there came three or foure chauses, and brought them into the great Turkes presence. At the Privy chamber doore two noble men tooke the Ambassadour by ech arme one, and put their fingers within his sleeves, and so brought him to the great Turke where he sumptuously sate alone. He kissed his hand and stood by untill all the gentlemen were brought before him in like maner, one by one, and ledde backwards againe his face towards the Turke; for they might neither tarry nor turne their backs, and in like maner returned the Ambassadour. The salutation that the Noble men did, was taking them by the hands. All this time they trode on cloth of golde, most of the Noble men that sate on the South side of the Privy chamber sate likewise on cloth of golde. Many officers or Janisaries there were with staves, who kept very good order, for no Turke whatsoever might goe any further then they willed him. At our Ambassadors entring they followed that bare his presents, to say, twelve fine broad clothes, two pieces of fine holland, tenne pieces of plate double gilt, one case of candlesticks, the case whereof was very large, and three foot high and more, two very great cannes or pots, and one lesser, one basin and ewer, two poppinjays of silver, the one with two heads: they were to drinke in: two bottles with chaines, three faire mastifs in coats of redde cloth, three spaniels, two bloodhounds, one common hunting hound, two greyhounds, two little dogges in coats of silke: one clocke valued at five hundred pounds sterling: over it was a forrest with trees

of silver, among the which were deere chased with dogs, and men on horsebacke following, men drawing of water, others carrying mine oare on barrowes: on the toppe of the clocke stood a castle, and on the castle a mill. All these were of silver. And the clocke was round beset with jewels. All the time that we stayed at the Councell chamber doore they were telling or weighing of money to send into Persia for his Souldiours pay. There were carried out an hundred and three and thirty bags, and in every bagge, as it was tolde us, one thousand ducats, which amounteth to three hundred and thirty thousand \*

, and in sterling English money to fourescore and nineteene thousand pounds. The Captaine of the guard in the meane time went to the great Turke, and returned againe, then they of the Court made obeisance to him, bowing downe their heads, and their hands on their breasts, and he in like order resaluted them: he was in cloth of silver, he went and came with two or three with him and no more. Then wee went out at the first gate, and there we were commanded to stay untill the Captaine of the guard was passed by and all his guard with him, part before him and part behinde him, some on horsebacke and some on foot, but the most part on foot carrying on their shoulders the money before mentioned, and so we passed home. There was in the Court during our abode there, for the most part a foole resembling the first, but not naked as was the other at the Bassas: but he turned him continually, & cried Hough very hollowly. The third of May I saw the Turke go to the church: he had more then two hundred and fifty horses before and behinde him, but most before him. There were many empty horses that came in no order. Many of his Nobilitie were in cloth of golde, but himselfe in white sattin. There did ride behinde him sixe or seven youthes, one or two whereof carried water for him to drinke as they sayd. There were many of his guard running before him and behinde him, and when he alighted, they cried Hough very hollowly, as the aforesayd fooles.

A letter of Mustapha Chaus to the Queenes most excellent Majestie.

SERENISSIMA, prudentissima, & sacra Regia Majestas, domina mihi semper clementissima, meorum fidelium officiorum promptam paratissimámque commendationem.

Generosus & virtuosus Gulielmus Hareborne legatus vestræ Majestatis venit ad portam excelsissimam potentissimi & invictissimi, & semper Augustissimi Cæsaris Sultan Murad Can, cui Deus omnipotens benedicat. Et quanto honore, quanta dignitate, quantâque humanitate aliorum confœderatorum legati accipiuntur, præfatus quoque legatus vester tanta reverentia, tantâque amplitudine acceptus & collocatus est in porta excelsissima. Et posthac subditi & homines vestræ sacræ Majestatis ad ditiones omnes Cæsareas venire, & sua negocia tractare, & ad suam patriam redire sine impedimento, ut in literis excelsissimi, potentissimi, & invictissimi, & semper Augustissimi Cæsaris ad vestram sacram Regiam Majestatem datis facile patet, tranquillè & pacificè possunt. Ego autem imprimis diligentem operam & fidele studium & nunc eodem confirmando navavi, & in futurum quoque usque in ultimum vitæ spiritum in negotiis potentissimi & invictissimi Cæsaris, & vestræ sacræ Regiæ Majestatis egregiam navabo operam. Quod Deus omnipotens ad emolumentum & utilitatem utriusque Reipublicæ secundet. Amen. Sacram Regiam Majestatem fœlicissimè valere exopto. Datum Constantinopoli anno 1583, die octavo Maii.

A letter of the English Ambassadour to M. Harvie Millers, appointing him Consull for the English nation in Alexandria, Cairo, and other places of Egypt.

HAVING to appoint our Consull in Cayro, Alexandria, Egypt, and other parts adjacent, for the safe protection of body and goods of her Majesties subjects; being well perswaded of your sufficient abilitie; in her Majesties name I doe elect and make choise of you, good friend Harvie Millers, to execute the same worshipfull office, as shall be required for her Majesties better service, the commodity of her subjects, and my contentation: having and injoying for merit of your travell in the premisses the like remuneration incident to the rest of ours in such office in other parts of this Empire. Requiring you (all other affaires set aside) to repaire thither with expedition, and attend upon this your charge, which the Almighty grant you well to accomplish. For the due execution whereof, we heerewith send you the Grand Signiors Patent of privilege with ours, and what els is needfull therefore, in so ample maner, as any other Consull whosoever doeth



or may enjoy the same. In ayd whereof, according to my bounden duety to her Majesty our most gracious Mistrresse, I will be ready alwayes to employ my selfe to the generall benefit of her Majesties subjects, for your maintenance in all just causes incident to the same. And thus eftsoones requiring and commanding you as above sayd, to performe my request, I bid you most heartily well to fare, and desire God to blesse you. From my mansion Rapamat nigh Pera this 25 of April 1583.

Commission given by M. William Hareborne the English Ambassadour, to Richard Forster, authorising him Consul of the English nation in the parts of Alepo, Damasco, Aman, Tripolis, Jerusalem, &c.

I WILLIAM HARBORNE, her Majesties Ambassadour, Ligier with the Grand Signior, for the affaires of the Levant doe in her Majesties name confirme and appoint Richard Forster Gentleman, my Deputie and Consull in the parts of Alepo, Damasco, Aman, Tripolis, Jerusalem, and all other ports whatsoever in the provinces of Syria, Palestina, and Jurie, to execute the office of Consull over all our Nation her Majesties subjects, of what estate or quality soever: giving him hereby full power to defend, protect, and maintaine all such her Majesties subjects as to him shall be obedient, in all honest and just causes whatsoever: and in like case no lesse power to imprison, punish, and correct any and all such as he shall finde disobedient to him in the like causes, even in such order as I my selfe might doe by vertue of her Majesties Commission given me the 26 of November 1582, the copie whereof I have annexed to this present under her Majesties Seale delivered me to that use. Straightly charging and commanding all her Majesties subjects in those parts, as they will avoid her Highnesse displeasure and their owne harmes, to honour his authoritie, and have due respect unto the same, aiding and assisting him there with their persons and goods in any cause requisit to her Majesties good service, and commoditie of her dominions. In witnesse whereof I have confirmed and sealed these presents at Rapamat my mansion house by Pera over against Constantinople, the 20 of June 1583.

A letter of directions of the English Ambassadour to M. Richard Forster, appointed the first English Consull at Tripolis in Syria.

COUSIN FORSTER, these few words are for your remembrance when it shall please the Almighty to send you safe arrivall in Tripolis of Syria. When it shall please God to send you thither, you are to certifie our Nation at Tripolis of the certaine day of your landing, to the end they both may have their house in a readinesse, and also meet you personally at your entrance to accompany you, being your selfe appparelled in the best maner. The next, second, or third day, after your comming, give it out that you be crazed and not well disposed, by meanes of your travell at Sea, during which time, you and those there are most wisely to determine in what maner you are to present your selfe to the Beglerbi, Cadi, and other officers : who every of them are to be presented according to the order accustomed of others formerly in like office : which after the note of John Blanke, late Vice-consull of Tripolis for the French, delivered you heerewith, is very much : and therefore, if thereof you can save any thing, I pray you doe it, as I doubt not but you will. They are to give you there also another Janizarie according as the French hath ; whose outward proceedings you are to imitate and follow, in such sort as you bee not his inferiour, according as those of our Nation heeretofore with him resident can informe you. Touching your demeanour after your placing, you are wisely to proceede considering both French and Venetian will have an envious eye on you : whome if they perceive wise and well advised, they will feare to offer you any injurie. But if they shall perceive any insufficiencie in you, they will not omitte any occasion to harme you. They are subtile, malicious, and dissembling people, wherefore you must alwayes have their doings for suspected, and warily walke in all your actions : wherein if you call for Gods divine assistance, as doth become every faithfull good Christian, the same shall in such sort direct you as he shall be glorified, your selfe preserved, your doings blessed, and your enemies confounded. Which if contrarywise you omit and forget, your enemies malice shalbe satisfied with your confusion, which God defend, and for his mercies sake keepe you. Touching any outlopers of our nation, which may happen to come

thither to traffike, you are not to suffer, but to imprison the chiefe officers, and suffer the rest not to traffike at any time, and together enter in such bonds as you thinke meete, that both they shall not deale in the Grand Signiors dominions, and also not harme, during their voyage, any his subjects shippes, vessels, or whatsoever other, but quietly depart out of the same country without any harme doing. And touching those there for the company, you are to defend them according to your priviledge & such commandements as you have had hence, in the best order you may. In all and every your actions, at any hand, beware of rashnesse and anger, after both which repentance followeth. Touching your dealings in their affaires of marchandise, you are not to deale otherwise then in secret and counsell. You are carefully to foresee the charge of the house, that the same may be in all honest measure to the companies profit and your owne health through moderation in diet, and at the best hand, and in due time to provide things needfull, to save what may be : for he that buyeth every thing when he needeth it, harmeth his owne house, and helpeth the retailer. So as it is, in mine opinion, wisdom to foresee the buying of all things in their native soile, in due time, and at the first hand every yeere, as you are to send the company the particular accounts of the same expenses. Touching your selfe, you are to cause to be employed fifty or three-score ducats, videlicet, twenty in Sope, and the rest in Spices, whereof the most part to be Pepper, whereof we spend very much. The Spices are to be provided by our friend William Barrat, and the Sope buy you at your first arrivall, for that this shippe lading the same commodity will cause it to amount in price. From our mansion Rapamat, the fift of September 1583.

A letter to the right honourable William Hareborne her Majesties Ambassadour with the Grand Signior from Alger.

RIGHT honorable, we have received your honors letters dated in Constantinople the 5 of November, and accordingly delivered that inclosed to the king of this place, requiring of him, according as you did command us in her Majesties name, that he would vouchsafe to give order to all his Captaines & Rajes that none of them should

meddle with our English shippes comming or going to or from these parts, for that they have order not to passe by the Christian coast, but upon the coast of Barbary, and shewing him of the charter given by the Grand Signior, requiring him in like case that for the better fulfilling of the amity, friendship and holy league betweene the Grand Signior and her Majesty, he would give us five or six safe-conducts for our ships, that meeting with any of his gallies or galliots, they might not meddle with them neither shoot at them: who made me answere he would neither give me any safe conduct nor commission to his men of war not to meddle with them, for that he trusted to take some of them this yere, and made good account thereof. In like maner I spake to the chiefe of the Janisers and the Levents, who made me answere, the best hope they had this yere was to take some of them, and although they have the Grand Signiors commandement we care not therefore: for we will by policy, or one meanes or other provoke them to shoot some ordinance, which if they do but one piece, the peace is broken, and they be good prizes. And some of them say further, we care not for their safeconduct, for if they shew it us, we will convey it away, we are sure the dogs cannot be beleaved against us. The premisses considered, your honor is with all speed to procure the Grand Signior his favorable letters directed to Hazan, the Cady, Captaines, Janisers, & Levents, & another like to Romadan Bassa, king of Tripolis, commanding them in no maner whatsoever to deale with our English ships bound into those parts or returning thence with their commodities, although they should shoot one at another: for when our ships shall meet them, for that, as your honor is advertised, the gallies of Carthagena, Florence, Sicilia and Malta have made a league to take all our ships comming in or going out of the Grand Signiors dominions, therefore if they meet with any of these gallies of Alger or Tripolis, thinking they be of them, and not knowing them a far off, they may shoot at them, which if therefore they should make them prizes, were against Gods lawes, the Grand Signior his league, all reason and conscience, considering that all the world doth know that Marchants ships laden with marchandise do not seeke to fight with men of warre, but contrariwise to defend themselves from them, when they would do them harme. Wherefore if your honor do

not get out two letters of the Grand Signior as aforesayd, & send them hither with all speed by some one of your gentlemen accompanied with a chaus of the Court, or some other of the Grand Signiors servants, it is impossible that our English ships can escape freely from these or the Christians: for either they must of force go on the Christian coast, and so fall into their hands, or els on this coast, and fall into the kings of this towne, or Tripolis, their hands, which if they should, will never be recovered. And if your honor cannot obtaine this thing, I beseech your honor in the behalfe of all the English marchants (who sent me hither to follow such order as your honor should give me) to certifie her Majesty, to the end that they may be commanded to leave off traffique, and not to lose their goods, and her poore subjects the Mariners. And thus humbly taking my leave, I desist from troubling your honor. From Algier the tenth of February 1583.

A letter of M. Harborne to Mustapha, challenging him for his dishonest dealing in translating of three of the Grand Signior his commandements.

DOMINE Mustapha, nescimus quid sibi velit, cum nobis mandata ad finem utilem concessa perperam reddas, quæ male scripta, plus damni, quam utilitatis adferant: quemadmodum constat ex tribus receptis mandatis, in quibus summum aut principale deest aut aufertur. In posterum noli ita nobiscum agere. Ita enim ludibrio erimus omnibus in nostrum & tuum dedecus. Cum nos multarum actionum spem Turcicè scriptarum in tua prudentia reponimus, ita providere debes, ut non eveniant hujusmodi mala. Quocirca deinceps cum mandatum aut scriptum aliquod accipias, verbum ad verbum convertatur in Latinum sermonem, ne damnum insequatur. Nostri multos habere nos inimicos conatibus nostris invidentes, quorum malitiæ vestræ est prudentiæ adversari. Hi nostri, Secretarius & minimus interpret ex nostra parte dicent in tribus illis receptis mandatis errata. Ut deinceps similes errores non eveniant precamur. Ista emendes, & cætera Serenissimæ regiæ Majestatis negocia, uti decet vestræ conditionis hominem, melius cures. Nam unicuique suo officio strenuè est laborandum ut debito tramite omnia succedant: quod spero te facturum. Bene vale.



The Pasport granted to Thomas Shingleton Englishman, by the king of Alger. 1583.

WE Assan Bassha Viceroy and lieutenant, and capitaine of the jurisdiction of Alger, give and grant free safe-conduct to Thomas Shingleton marchant, that with his ship and mariners, of what nation soever they be, & with his merchandize of what countrey soever, he may go and come, and trade & traffique freely in this city of Alger, and other places of our jurisdiction, as well of the West as of the East. And in like sort we further command the capitaine of the sea of Alger, and other places of our jurisdiction, the Reiz of vessels & capitaines of the Levant, & other capitaines of vessels aswell great as small, who-soever they be, we do command them, that finding the foresayd Thomas Shingleton Englishman in the seas of Genua, France, Naples, Calabria, and Sardinia, with his ship and merchandize, and men of what nation soever they be, that they molest them not, neither take nor touch any kind of thing of theirs, neither money nor any other kind of goods, under paine and peril of loosing of their lives and goods: and as you make account of the favour of the Grand Signor our lord Sultan Murates Hottoman, so see you let him passe on his way without any maner of impediment. Dated at Alger in our kingly palace, signed with our princely Signet, and sealed with our great seale, and written by our Secretarie of estate, the 23. of Januarie, 1583.

A letter written in Spanish by Sir Edward Osborne, to the king of Alger, the 20. of July, 1584. in the behalfe of certaine English captives there detained.

RIGHT high and mightie king,

May it please your highnesse to understand, that the most high and most mightie majestie of the Grand Signor hath confirmed certaine articles of privileges with the most excellent majestie of our Queene of England, that her subjects may freely go and come, and traffique by sea and land in the dominions of his most mighty majesty, as appeareth more at large by ye said articles, whereof we have sent the copy unto M. Joh. Tipton our Commissarie, to shew the same unto your highnes. Against the tenor of which articles, one of our ships which came

from Patras which is in Morea, laden with corants and other merchandizes which were bought in those parts, was sunke by 2. gallies of your citie of Alger, and the greatest number of the men thereof were slain and drowned in the sea, the residue being detained as slaves: An acte very contrary to the meaning of the aforesaid articles and privileges: which is the occasion that by these presents we beseech your highnesse very humbly, that since it hath pleased the most mightie majestie of the Grand Signor to favour us with the sayd privileges, it would please your Highnesse in like maner to assist us in the same, graunting us by your authoritie, your ayde and favour, according as our hope is, that these poore men so detained in captivitie, as is aforesaid, may be set at libertie, & returne into their countrey. And likewise that your highnesse would send to give order to the captaines, masters and people of your gallies, that from hencefoorth they would suffer us to use our traffique with sixe ships yerely into Turkie unto the dominions of the Grand Signor in peace and safetie, that they do not withstand those our said privileges, every one of our foresaid ships carying with them a passeport of his most high and most mightie majestie to be knownen by. And for that your so singular favour and curtesie which in so doing we shall receive, we on our part with all bounden duetie unto your highnesse, will seeke to honour you in that behalfe, according as the sayd master John Tipton (to whom wee referre our selves touching all other circumstances) shall more at large enforme your highnesse, whose most excellent person and estate, we pray and beseech almighty God to prosper and increase with all felicitie and honour. From the Citie of London, the 20. of July, 1584.

At the service of your highnesse, for and in the name of our whole company trading into Turkie, I Maior of London, Edward Osburne.

#### Notes concerning the trade of Alger.

THE money that is coined in Alger is a piece of gold called Asiano, & Doublaes, and two Doublaes make an Asiano, but the Doubla is most used, for all things be sold by Doublaes, which Doubla is fiftie of their Aspers there.

The Asper there is not so good by halfe & more, as that in Constantinople, for the Chekin of gold of the

Turkes made at Constantinople is at Alger worth an 150. Aspers, and at Constantinople it is but 66. Aspers.

The pistolet and roials of plate are most currant there.

The said pistolet goeth for 130. Aspers there: & the piece of 4. roials goeth for 40. Aspers, but oftentimes is sold for more, as men need them to cary up into Turkie.

Their Asianos and Doublaes are pieces of course gold, worth here but 40.s. the ounce, so the same is currant in no place of Turkie out of the kingdom of Alger, neither the Aspers, for that they be lesse then others be, for they coine them in Alger.

The custome to the king is inward 10. per centum, to the Turke, to be paid of the commoditie it selfe, or as it shall be rated.

There is another custome to the Ermine, of one & an halfe per centum, which is to the Justice of the Christians: the goods for this custome are rated as they are for the kings custome.

Having paid custome inwards, you pay none outwards for any commoditie that you doe lade, more then a reward to the gate keepers.

The waight there is called a Cantare for fine wares, as mettals refined, and spices &c. which is here 120.li. subtil.

Mettall not refined, as lead, iron, and such grosse wares, are sold by a great Cantare, which is halfe as big againe: so it is 180.li. subtil of ours here.

The measure of corne is by a measure called a Curtia, which is about 4. bushels of our measure, and corne is plentiful there and good cheape, except when there hapneth a very dry yeere.

The surest lodging for a Christian there is in a Jewes house: for if he have any hurt, the Jew and his goods shall make it good, so the Jew taketh great care of the Christian and his goods that lieth in his house, for feare of punishment.

An Englishman called Thomas Williams, which is M. John Tiptons man, lieth about trade of merchandize in the streete called The Soca of the Jewes.

#### Notes concerning the trade in Alexandria.

ALEXANDRIA in Egypt is a free port, and when a man cometh within the castles, presently the Ermyne sends aboard to have one come and speake with him, to know what goods are aboard: and then hee will set guards

aboard the ship to see all the goods discharged. And then from the Ermin you goe to the Bye, onely for that he will inquire newes of you, and so from thence to the Consuls house where you lie. The Venetians have a Consul themselves. But all other nations goe to the French nations Consul, who will give you a chamber for your selves apart, if you will so have it.

The customs inward of all commodities are ten in the hundred, & the custome is paid in wares also that you buy: for the same wares in barter you pay also ten in the hundred, at the lading of the wares. But if you sell for mony, you pay no more custome but the ten aforesaid, and one and a half in the hundred, which is for the custome of the goods you lade for the sayd mony, for more custome you pay not. But for all the money you bring thither, you pay nothing for the custome of the same. And if you sell your wares for mony, and with the same money buy wares, you pay but two in the hundred for the custome thereof. And if you steale any custome, if it be taken, you pay double custome for that you steale.

The weight of Alexandria is called Pois Forforeine, which is a kintal in that place, which maketh at Marseils 109.li. of Marseils waight, at 15 ounces the pound, which is 103.li. of 16. ounces to the li. There is another waight called Pois Gerrin, which is 150.li. of Marseils waight, by which are sold all things to eate: but spice is sold by the former waight.

From Alexandria to Cairo is three daies journey, but you must take a Janissarie with you: & to go up thither by water it is 8. dayes journey. Roials of Spaine are currant mony there, and are the best money you can cary. And 4. roials are woorth 13. Medins, and 2. Medins, are 3. Aspers. Pistolets and crownes of France and Dollers will goe, but of all Roials are best.

Rice is not permitted to goe out of the land, but is kept for a victuall. But with a present to the Bye and Ermine some may passe.

All sortes of spices be garbled after the bargain is made, and they be Moores which you deale withall, which be good people and not ill disposed. And after you be searched & have leave to passe, you must presently depart out of the port, and if you doe not, they will search you againe. And you must depart in the day, for in the night

the castles will not suffer you to depart. The duetie to the Consul is 2. in the hundred, for his aide, and meate and drinke and all. And the port of Alexandria is good when one is within it with good ankers and cables. Silver is better currant then gold in Alexandria, but both are good.

Commonly the Caravans come thither in October from Mecca to Cairo, and from thence to Alexandria, where the merchants be that buy the spices, and therefore the spices are brought most to Alexandria, where each Christian nation remaineth at the Consuls houses. Yet oftentimes the christians go up to Cairo to buy drugs & other commodities there, as they see cause. And the commodities there vendible are all sorts of kersies, but the most part blewes, and of clothes all colours except mingled colours and blacks. Pepper is usually sold for 24. ducats the quintal, Ginger for 14 ducats. You must take canvas to make bags to put your commoditie in from Alexandria, for there is none. There is also fine flaxe, and good store of Buffe hides.

A letter of the English ambassador to M. Edward Barton. MASTER BARTON I send you 3. commandements in Turkish, with a copy thereof in English, to the ende our ships might not come in danger of breach of league, if they should shoote at the gallies of those of Algier, Tunis, and Tripolis in the West: which after you have shewed the Bassas, receive againe into your hands, and see them registred, and then deliver one of them to our friend M. Tipton, & the like you are to do with the privilege which you cary with you, and see them jointly registred in the Cadies booke, delivering the copy of the said privilege sealed by the Cadi, also to the sayd our friend M. Tipton, taking a note of his hand for the receipt thereof, and for deliverie at all times to us or our assignes. And require them in her majesties and the grand Signors name, that they will have our ships passing too and fro under licence and safeconduct for recommended in friendly maner. Touching your proceedings in Tripolis with Romadan, as I have not received any advise thereof, since your departure, so must I leave you to God and my former direction. The ship patronised of Hassan Rayes, which you wrote to be ours, prooved to be a Catalonian. As for ours, by report of that Hassan and other Jewes in his ship, it was



affirmed to be sold to the Malteses, which with the rest you are to receive there. And having ended these affaires and registred our privilege, and these three commandements, in Tripolis, Tunis, and Alger, I pray you make speedy returne, and for that which may be recovered, make over the same either to Richard Rowed for Patrasso in Morea, or otherwise hither to John Bate in the surest maner you may, if the registering of that your privilege and these commandements will not suffer you in person to returne with the same. From my Mansion Rapamat in Pera this 24. of June 1584.

The commaundement obtained of the Grand Signior by her Majesties ambassador M. Will. Hareborne, for the quiet passing of her subjects to and from his dominions, sent in An. 1584. to the Viceroyes of Algier, Tunis & Tripolis in Barbary.

To our Beglerbeg of Algier.

WE certifie thee by this our commandement, that the right honorable Will. Hareborne ambassador to the Queenes majestie of England hath signified unto us, that the ships of that countrey in their comming and returning to and from our Empire, on the one part of the Seas have the Spaniards, Florentines, Sicilians and Malteses, on the other part our countreis committed to your charge: which abovesaid Christians will not quietly suffer their egresse and regresse, into, and out of our dominions, but doe take and make the men captives, and forfeit the shippes and goods, as the last yeere the Malteses did one, which they tooke at Gerbi, and to that end do continually lie in wait for them to their destruction, whereupon they are constrained to stand to their defence at any such time as they might meet with them. Wherefore considering by this means they must stand upon their guard, when they shall see any gallie afarre off, whereby if meeting with any of your gallies and not knowing them, in their defence they do shoot at them, and yet after when they doe certainly know them, do not shoote any more, but require to passe peaceably on their voiage, which you would deny, saying, the peace is broken because you have shot at us, and so make prize of them contrary to our privileges, and against reason: for the preventing of which inconvenience the said ambassador hath required this our commaunde-

ment. We therefore command thee, that upon sight hereof thou doe not permit any such matter in any sort whatsoever, but suffer the sayd Englishmen to passe in peace according to the tenour of our commandement given, without any disturbance or let by any means upon the way, although that meeting with thy gallies, and not knowing them afarre off, they taking them for enemies should shoote at them, yet shall you not suffer them to hurt them therefore, but quietly to passe. Wherefore looke thou that they may have right, according to our privilege given them, & finding any that absenteth himself, & wil not obey this our commandement, presently certify us to our porch, that we may give order for his punishment, and with reverence give faithfull credite to this our commandement, which having read, thou shalt againe returne it unto them that present it. From our palace in Constantinople, the 1. of June, 1584.

A letter of the honorable M. Wil. Hareborne her majesties ambass. with the grand Signior to M. Tipton, appointing him Consul of the English in Algier, Tunis, & Tripolis of Barbarie.

MASTER TIPTON, I have received among others, yours of the 10. of November 1584. by Soliman Sorda, certifying the receipt of mine of the 24. of June 1584. with the 3. commandements, which not being registred, let it now be done. Where you write the force of the privilege to be broken by our ships in shooting, & therfore be lawfully taken, you are deceived, for of those taken in them, hath the grand Signior now delivered us free, Wil. Moore, and Rob. Rawlings, & further promised the rest in like case, wheresoever they be, & that hereafter no violence shalbe shewed, considering ours be merchants ships which go peaceably in their voiage, & were ignorant of the orders of Algier, neither knew afar off, whether they were friends or the Christians gallies in league against us, of whom they most doubted, who not suffring our ships to come into these parts, wil make prize of the goods & captive the men, so as they are not to let them come nigh them : & since ours have not done contrary to the articles of the same privilege, wherein is no order for Algier prescribed us, as both by the originall now sent us, & also by the copy now sent you from London you may perceive, they according to right are as abovesaid to be set free, and

their goods restored, which if it be not there accomplished as the grand Signior hath now commanded & most faithfully promised, neither yet in case of their denial, those offenders punished here, and our injuries redressed, we are to demand our Congie, & command our merchants her majesties subjects, to end their traffike here, which in our countrey commodities is prooved & found by the grand Signior to be so beneficial to his countries as we are assured so well thereof, as also for the honor which his ancestors never had of friendship w<sup>t</sup> so mighty a prince as is her majesty, he wil not but maintaine ye faith promised her, & the intercourse in due force. And where you say y<sup>t</sup> the grand Signor his letters, in the behalf of the French, were no more accepted there, then of a mean man, nor tooke no place, that is not material to us, our letters are after another sort much more effectuell. For our case & theirs be found far different, in y<sup>t</sup> they be not onely now out of favour with him, but also the commodities which they bring hither, as suger, paper, bracelets, ropes of bast almonds, &c. all which may be here wel spared, & we contrarily so wel esteemed, as he never denied us any thing since our comming demanded, which neither their ambassador, nor the Venetian could have here, & therefore we rest perswaded, knowing the wisdom of the Beglerbeg, who is advised by his friends from hence, of this our credite w<sup>t</sup> his master, he wil so respect his commandements, as to accomplish ye tenor thereof according to our desire. And where you say y<sup>t</sup> the Janizers rule all there, I know right wel y<sup>t</sup> if things be not done as the grand Signior commandeth, his lieutenant must answer it. And therefore I am fully perswaded if he doe what he may they dare not resist him, for if they should, those rebels should not be unpunished of ye grand Signior. And though they speake their pleasures among themselves there, yet they be not so brutish, but they wel consider that their master ye grand Signior may not be gainsaid or mocked of any. For upon his word dependeth the life or death even of the chiefest, as I have seene since my comming hither. So whatsoever these Janizaries say, they will be better advised in their deedes then to withstand their Viceroy, if he himselfe wil use his lawfull power, which if hee doe not, hee cannot purge himselfe here of their evill proceedings against the grand Signiors friends : for the feet may not rule the bodie, but contrary-

wise, the head, the feete, and all the rest of the members. And for that neither for feare, affection or otherwise you omit as a faithfull true subject to her majestie to do your dutie, I do by my warrant going herewith charge you, & in her majesties name, to the uttermost to use your good and faithful endeavour, as becommeth a true subject, & in all things that may concerne her majesties good service, assisting the Chaus with the rest of our messengers in counsel, travel, & what els shall be thought requisite for your good discharge of your dutie. And to ye end you may boldly proceed herein as also for the good opinion sir Edward Osborne & the company have of you, and I no lesse perswaded of youre wisdom, upright dealing, & good experience in those parts, do send you herewith the grand Signiors & our patents for exercising the office of Consul there, in Tripolis & Tunis: by vertue of which authoritie you may without feare proceed as the office doeth challenge in defence of our privilege, to redresse all injuries offred our nation. Which if you cannot get reformed there of ye Beglerbies upon your complaint, I thereof advertised, shal doe it here, and to the uttermost maintaine you in al rightful causes whatsoever, doubt you not. And hereafter according to your advise, I wil and do give our ships order not to fight with any gallies of Alger, but to hoise out their skiffe and go aboard to shew them their safeconduct, & to present the captain with a garment, & you there in such like case are to take order that they do not forceably take any thing from them. Nothing doubting but the Viceroy (whose friendship in her majesties behalfe I desire) will not onely performe the same your just request, & according to right, restore to libertie our men since the privilege taken, but also cause those y<sup>t</sup> tooke & sunke our ships to answeere the value, which I have set downe truly, and rather with the least in the Inventorie translated into Turkish, whereof the inclosed is the copy in English, which I send to the end you may be the better informed of my demand by this our Chaus Mahomet, with whom in all things you are to conferre of matters expedient, for the honor of her majesties country, & the commoditie, and libertie of poore captives, which if the Viceroy do wel consider, according to his wisdom, as the grand Signior doeth thereof, he shal wel perceive it not onely a great honour to his master as aforesaid, to continue this amitie with her majestie, but

chiefly to the whole estate of his kingdom exceeding profitable, which by this means shall be abundantly served with the chiefest commodities they want, with many other things of more importance to the grand Signior his contentation, not herein to be mentioned. For I know the Vicerioes experienced wisdom can wel consider thereof, in such sort as he wil not deny to accomplish his masters commandement, & our earnest request in so smal a matter as this we require, whereof I expect no refusall: for thereby he shall increase his honor with the grand Signior, be in credite with her majestie, be void of trouble which hereafter by future suite against him may happen, and his gallies free of such doubtful issue as doeth chance, fighting with our ships. Which, as it is well knowen to all the world, have so great hearts as never cowardly to yeeld to their enemies. And that therefore in that respect (after the proverbe, like esteeme of their like) they are the more of such a valiant prince as is their Viceroy and his couragious souldiers to be in all friendship cherished and better esteemed. If the captaine Bassa had bene returned from Capha, I would in like maner have procured his letters, which for that he is not, I doubt nothing but that the grand Signiors will suffise. Thus commending your selfe and these proceedings to the almighty his merciful direction, I bid you most heartily wel to fare. From my mansion Rapamat nigh Pera, this 30. of March 1585.

*Series vel registrum valoris navium, bonorum, & hominum per triremes Argerienses ereptorum, una cum captivorum hominum nominibus, Beglerbego Argeriensi Hassano.*

1 SALOMON de Plimmouth habuit 36. homines, onerata cum sale, onere trecentorum doliorum, valore Florenorum 5600.

2 Elizabetha de Garnesey cum decem hominibus Anglis, reliquis Britonibus, valore Florenorum 2000.

3 Maria Martin de London onere centum & triginta doliorum, rectore Thoma More cum triginta quinque hominibus, revertens de Patrasso cum mandato Cæsareo, valore Florenorum 1400.

4 Elizabeth Stokes de London, rectore David Fillie de London, Patrassum veniens cum mandato Cæsareo: hujus præcipuus valor erat in talleris numeratis, quos habuit Richardus Gibben, qui adduxit etiam Serenissimæ



Regineæ majestatis literas Cæsari & oratori. Valor reliquus in mercibus una cum superiori in talleris effecit Florenorum 21500.

5 Nicolaus de London, rectore Thoma Forster, onerata cum uvis siccis, valore Florenorum 4800.

In tempore Romadan Beglerbegi Agiræ spoliatae & ereptæ naves, merces, & homines.

1 JUDITH de London, rectore Jacobo Beare, cum hominibus 24. valore Florenorum 3100.

2 Jesus de London, rectore Andræa Dier, cum 21. hominibus. Valorem hujus & 14. homines, reliquis mortuis, reddidit Romadan Bassa Tripolitanus Secretario legati, Edwardo Barten, valore Florenorum 9000.

Nomina hominum mancinatorum & viventium tunc temporis, quando Cæsar illustrissimus, & dominus Orator Chauseum Mahumetem miserunt Algiram.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1 Ante fœdus initum in nave Peter de Bristow. | { John Winter.<br>Robert Barton.                       |
| 2 In nave Swallow de London.                  | { Rich. Crawford.<br>Anthony Elvers.<br>Wil. Rainolds. |
| Post fœdus initum in nave Britona.            | James Yoong.   |
| 1 In nave Rabnet de Hampton.                  | Thomas Lisney.   |
| 2 In nave Salomon.                            | { John Tracie.<br>Wil. Griffith.<br>Wil. Cocke.        |

1 In nave Elizabeth. John Woodward, Giles Naper, Leonard James, Oliver Dallimore, and Richard Maunsell.

2 In nave Maria Martin. Thomas Moore, Wil. White, Wil. Palmer, Nich. Long, Peter March, Rich. Haslewood, Wil. Dewly, Wil. Cowel, John Franke, Henry Parker, John Cavendish, Moises Robinson, James Sotherich, Henry Howel, Nich. Smith, Henry Ragster, Rich. Davison, Rich. Palmer.

3 In nave Elizabeth Stokes. David Fillie, Walter Street, Laurence Wilkins, Morgan Davis, John Quinte, Ambrose Harison, John Peterson, Tristram Vois, Roger Ribbe.

4 In nave Nicholas, Thomas Forster rector navis & ejus nautæ.

To Assan Aga, Eunuch & Treasurer to Hassan Bassa king of Alger, which Assan Aga was the sonne of Fran. Rowlie of Bristow merchant, taken in the Swallow.

I RECEIVED your letters of Will. Hamor gentleman my servant very thankfully, aswel for the fervent faith that by his report I heare you have in our lord Jesus Christ, by whose onely merits and bloodshedding, you together with us and all other good Christians so truly beleaving, shalbe saved, as also for your faithfull obedience like a true subject to her Majestie, naturally loving your countrey & countreyemen, declared in your favourable furtherance of the said Wil. Hamore, procuring their redemption. Of which your good & vertuous actions, as I rejoyce to understand, so wil I impart the same to your singuler commendation, both to our mistresse her Majestie, & her most honorable counsellers the nobilitie of England, to whom assure your selfe the report shalbe very welcome. And now this second time I am inforced by duetie to God & her majesty, as also by the smal regard your master had of the Grand Signors former commandements, to complaine unto him, though not so vehemently as I had occasion by his most unworthy answer. But I hope, & the rather by your means, he will not contrary this second commandement, threatning him, not observing the same, losse of office & life. The due execution whereof by your vertuous & careful industry procured, wil manifest to all the world, especially to her majesty, & me her ambassador, your true christian mind & English heart, intently bent to Gods honor, & the libertie of the poore men, for which I trust you be ordained another Joseph, to folow his example in true pietie, in such sort that notwithstanding your body be subject to Turkish thraldom, yet your vertuous mind free from those vices, next under God addict to ye good service of your liege Lady & soveraigne princes, her most excellent majesty, wil continually seeke by all good means to manifest ye same in this & the like faithful service to your singuler commendation, wherby both my selfe & others in that place having found you in all good offices faithfully affectionated, may in like case performe the like towards you, when & where you may have occasion to use me: which as I for my part do assuredly promise, & wil no lesse faithfully performe: so accordingly I expect herein, and hereafter the like of you,

whom most heartily saluted I commend to the divine tuition and holy direction. From my house Rapamat, this 28. of June 1586.

Your loving and good friend her Majesties

Ambassador with the Grand Signor,

Will. Hareborne.

A petition exhibited to the Viceroy for reformation of sundry injuries offered our nation in Morea, as also for sundry demaundes needefull for the establishing of the traffike in those parts.

1 FIRST that our people may be freed of such wonted molestation, as the Janisers of Patrasso have alwayes from time to time offered them, not regarding the kings commandements to the contrary. That they be removed and called away from thence, and none other remaine in their place.

2 That where heretofore the kings commandements have beene graunted to ours, that no person whatsoever shall forceably take from them any of their commodities, otherwise then paying them before the deliverie thereof, for the same in readie money, at such price as they themselves will, and sell ordinarily to others, as also that no officer whatsoever, of the kings or any other, shall force them to buy any commodities of that countrey, otherwise then the needfull, at their owne will and pleasure, that the said commandements not heretofore obeyed may be renewed with such straight charge for the execution of the same, as is requisite for their due effect.

3 That whereas sundry exactions and oppressions be offered ours by such Byes, Sanjacbies, justices and Cadies, Janizaries, Capagies, and others, officers of the kings comming downe into those parts, who finding there resident no other nation but only ours, will under the name of presents forceable take from them what they please: We do require to obvent these harmes, it may be specified by a commandement from the king to which of such his officers, presents may be given, and their sundry values, whereby both they and ours may rest contented, severely prohibiting in the said commandement, that they take no more then that appointed them, and that no other officers but those onely specified in that commaundement, doe forcibly require of them any thing whatsoever.

4 That the Nadir and Customer of the port, having permitted our ship to lade, doe not after demand of the marchants any other then the outward custome due to the king for the same goods. And being so laden, may by them and the Cadie with other their inferiour officers be visited, requiring for the visiting no more then formerly they were accustomed to pay at their first comming. After which the said ship to depart at the Consuls pleasure, without any molestation of them, or any other officer whatsoever.

5 That Mahomet Chaus, sometime Nadir of Lepanto, and Azon Agon his substitute being with him may be severely punished to the example of others, for often and unjustly molesting our nation, contrarie to the kings commandement, which they disdainefully contemned, as also that the said Mahomet restore and pay unto ours thirtie for 300 sackes of currants nowe taken forcibly out of a barke, comming thither from the hither partes of Morea, to pay the king his custome, and that from hence forth, neither the said Mahomet, Azon Agon, nor any other officer or person whatsoever doe hinder or trouble any of ours going thither or to any other place about ther affaires.

6 That whereas certaine Jewes of Lepanto owing money to our marchants for commodities solde them, have not hitherto satisfied them, notwithstanding ours had from the king a commandement for the recovery of the same debts, but fled and absented themselves out of the Towne at the comming of the same, another more forcible commaundement may be graunted ours, that for nonpaiment, whatsoever may be found of theirs in goods, houses, vineyards, or any other thing, may be sold, and ours satisfied of their said debt, according to equitie and reason.

#### A commandement to Patrasso in Morea.

WHEN this commandement shall come unto you, know you, that the Consull of the English Nation in our port of Patrasso, hath given us to understand, that formerly we granted him a commandement that having paied once custome for the currants bought to lade in their ships, they shall not pay it againe: according to which they bringing it to the port of Petrasso, informing thereof Mahomet the Nadir of Lepanto, he contrary to the tenor thereof and former order, doth againe take another cus-

tome of him, and requiring him to know why he so did contrary to our commandement, he answered us, he tooke it not for custome, but for a present. Moreover the sayd Consull certified us how that the said Nadir contrary to ancient custome doth not take for the kings right as he ought currents, but will have of the poore men money at his pleasure, and therewith buyeth currents at a very low price, which after he doth forcibly sell to us at a much higher price, saying it is remainder of the goods of the king, and by this meanes doth hurt the poore men and do them wrong. Wherefore I command you by this my commandement, that you looke to this matter betweene this Consull, the Nadir, and this people, and do therein equally according to right. And see that our commandement in this matter be observed in such sort, as they having once in the port paid full custome, do not pay it againe, neither that this Nadir do take any more money of them by the way of present, for that therein it is most certaine he doth them injurie contrary to the Canon. And if with you shall be found to the value of one Asper taken heretofore wrongfully of them, see it presently restored to them, without any default. And from henceforth see that he doe neither him nor his people wrong, but that he deale with them in all things according to our Canon, that the Consull and his hereafter have no occasion any more to complaine here in our Court, and that the Nadir proceed in gathering corants of the people after the old order and not otherwise. This know you for certaine, and give credit to this my commaundement, which having read deliver againe into the Consuls handes. From Constantinople the yeere of Mahomet 993.

A commandement for Chio.

VOBIS, Beg & Cadi & Ermini, qui estis in Chio, significamus: quòd serenissimæ Reginæ Majestatis Angliæ orator, qui est in excelsa porta per literas significavit nobis, quod ex navibus Anglicis una navis venisset ad portum Chio, & illinc Constantinopolim recto cursu voluisset venire, & contra privilegium detinuistis, & non sivistis venire. Hæc prædictus orator significavit nobis: & petivit a nobis in hoc negotio hoc mandatum, ut naves Anglicæ veniant & redeant in nostras ditiones Cæsareas. Privilegium datum & concessum est ex parte Serenitatis Cæsareæ nostræ: & hujus privilegii copia data



est sub insigni nostro : Et contra nostrum privilegium Cæsareum quod ita agitur, quæ est causa? Quando cum hoc mandato nostro homines illorum ad vos venerint ex prædicta Anglia, si navis venerit ad portum vestrum, & si res & merces ex nave exemerint, & vendiderint, & tricesimam secundam partem reddiderint, & res quæ manserint Constantinopolim auferre velint, patiantur : Et si aliquis contra privilegium & articulos ejus aliquid ageret, non sinatis, nec vos facite : & impediri non sinatis eos, ut rectâ Constantinopolim venientes in suis negotiationibus sine molestia esse possint. Et quicumque contra hoc mandatum & privilegium nostrum aliquid fecerit, nobis significate. Huic mandato nostro & insigni fidem adhibete. In principio mensis Decembris.

A commandement for Baliabadram.

SERENISSIMÆ Reginæ Angliæ orator literis supplicatoriis in porta nostra fulgida significavit, quod Baliabadram venientes mercatores, naves & homines eorum, contra privilegium impedirentur & molestarentur. Inter nos enim & Reginam cum fœdus sit, ut mercatores, homines & naves eorum contra privilegium impediuntur aut molestantur, nullo unquam pacto concedimus. Mandamus igitur, ut literæ nostræ Cæsareæ, quàm primum tibi exhibitæ fuerint, has in persona propria cures, secundum quod convenit, videasque ex Anglia Baliabadram cum mercibus venientibus mercatoribus, & alias ob causas venientibus hominibus, in summa Angliensibus & navibus eorum, & in navibus existentibus mercibus & rebus contra fœdus & privilegium, injuria, vis aut damnum non inferatur : sed, ut convenit, defendas, ut naves, mercatores, & homines, nostri velut proprii subditi, liberi ab omni vi & injuria permaneant, & negotiis suis incumbant. Et quod illius loci Janisseri illos impedirent, significatum est : ut illi illis nocumento sint nullo modo concedimus. Juxta tenorem mandati hujus illos commonefacias, ut nihil quicquam contra fœdus faciant, ita ut nunquam hujusmodi querela huc veniat, quia quicquid acciderit, a te expostulabimus. Negligentiam postposito, & insigni Cæsareo fidem adhibeto.

A commaundement for Egypt.

SCRIPTO quod orator Reginæ Angliæ in porta mea existens libellum supplicem ad portam nostram mittens significavit,

quod cum ex Ægypto Consul eorum abesset, Consul illic Gallicus existens, Vento nuncupatus, quamvis ante hæc tempora ne manus in Anglos mitteret mandatum nostrum fuerit datum, Angli sub vexillo & tutela nostra sunt inquiens, mandatum Cæsareum vili existimans, non cessavit perturbare Anglos. Quare scito quod Reginæ Angliæ privilegium nostrum est datum. Juxta illud privilegium Anglis nulla ratione Consul Gallicus Consulatum agat, neve manus immittat, mandatum nostrum postulavit ejus legatus. Quare mando, ut contra privilegium nostrum Consul Gallicus Anglis injuriam non inferat, neve Consulatum agat. Judici Ægypti literæ nostræ sunt datæ: hanc ob causam mando tibi quoque, ut juxta illud mandatum nostrum, contra privilegium nostrum Anglis Gallum Consulatum agere nunquam patiare. Sic scito, & insigni meo fidem adhibeto.

A commaundement of the Grand Signior to the Cadie or Judge of Alexandria.

THE Embassadour for the Queenes most excellent Majestie of England certified us howe that at the death of one of their marchants in Alexandria called Edward Chamberlaine, the French Consul Vento sealing up his fondego and chamber, tooke under his seale al his goods and marchandise into his power, and required our commaundement that all the goods might be restored againe according to justice unto the Englishmen: wherefore we commaund you that having received this our commaundement, you assemble those of the one part and of the other together, and if it be not passed five yeeres, if you have not looked to it heretofore, now carefully looke to it, & if it be according to their Arz or certificate presented unto us, that the foresaid French Consull Vento hath wrongfully taken into his power the goods of the deceased English marchant under his seale, that then you cause him to restore all the said goods and marchandise sealed by him, and make good that which is thereof wanting unto the English marchants: doe in this matter according to justice, and credite this our seale.

A commandement to the Bassa of Alexandria.

THE Embassadour for the Queenes most excellent Majesty of England by supplication certified us, how that not-

withstanding our privilege granted them to make Consuls in al parts of our dominions to governe their nation according to their owne custome & law, to defend them against all wrongs and injuries whatsoever: yet that the French Consull affirming to thee that art Bassa, that they were under his banner, and that he should governe them, and oversee their businesse, and having got a new privilege, mentioning therein the English men to be under his banner, did by all meanes molest & trouble them, insomuch that their Consull oppressed with many injuries fled away, and that thou which art Beglerbie didst maintaine the French Consul herein; whereupon the Embassadour required our commandement, that they might have justice for these injuries: wherefore we command thee that having received this our commandement, you examine diligently that his privilege, and send the copie thereof hither, and if it be found that the French Consull Vento hath by subtiltie got the aforesaid privilege written, that you then see him punished, and suffer not hereafter the French or Venetian Consuls to intermeddle with their businesse. Obey this our commaundement, and give credite to the seale.

A commaundement to the Byes, and Cadies of Metelin and Rhodes, and to all the Cadies and Byes in the way to Constantinople.

To the Sanjacobies of Rhodes and Metelin, to the Sanjacobies bordering on the sea-coast, and to the Cadies in Rhodes and Metelin, and to the Ermins in the other ports and coastes. This commaundement comming to you, know that the Embassadour of England required of us our commaundement that their ships comming to Chio, & from thence to Constantinople, no man should hurt them or offer any violence, either in the way on the sea or on the land, or in the portes. I have commaunded, that their ships comming to any of the said places or ports with marchandise, if they themselves will, they may sell their commodities, & as much, and as litle as they will, and if it be in a place where custome was not woont to be taken, having taken the custome due by the olde Canon you suffer them not to bee injured, either in the way, portes, or other places, but that they may come in quietnesse to Constantinople, and certifie us of those that be disobedient to our commaundement, and give credite to our

seale. And having read this our commandement, give it to them againe.

A commaundement for Aleppo.

WHEN my letters shal come unto you, know that the Queene of England her Embassador by supplication certified how that before this time we had given our commandement that the summe of 70 ducats, & other marchandize belonging to one William Barret in Aleppo, now dead, saying he was a Venetian, should be given to the Venetians. And if they did find that he was not a Venetian, my will was that they should send all his goods and marchandize to our port into my treasurie. But because that man was an Englishman, the Embassadour required that the sayde goods might not be diminished, but that they might be restored to one of their Englishmen. This businesse was signified unto us in the nine hundred ninety & fourth yere of Mahomet, and in the moneth of May the 10 day. This businesse pertaineth to the Englishmen, who have in their handes our privilege, according to which privilege being in their hands let this matter be done. Against this privilege do nothing, aske nothing of them, but restore to every one his goods. And I command that when my commandement shall come unto you, you doe according to it. And if it be according as the Ambassadour certified, and that they have the privilege, peruse the same, looke that nothing be committed against it and our league, and let none trouble them contrarie to it, restore them their goods according to justice, and take heede diligently in this businesse: if another strange marchant be dead, and his goods and marchandize be taken, if he be neither Venetian, nor Englishman, let not his goods perish among you. Before this time one of our Chauses called Cerkes Mahomet chaus was sent with our commaundement to sende the money and marchandize of a dead marchant to our port, and hitherto no letters or newes is come of this matter, for which you shall be punished. Wherefore beware, and if he that is dead be neither Venetian nor Englishman in veritie, doe not loose the goods of the said dead marchant, under the name of a Venetian or Englishman, doe not to the discommoditie of my treasurie, for after it will be hard to recover it.

The voyage made to Tripolis in Barbarie, in the yeere 1583. with a ship called the Jesus, wherein the adventures and distresses of some Englishmen are truly reported, and other necessary circumstances observed. Written by Thomas Sanders.

THIS voyage was set foorth by the right worshipfull sir Edward Osborne knight, chiefe merchant of all the Turkish company, and one master Richard Staper, the ship being of the burden of one hundred tunnes, called the Jesus, she was builded at Farmne a river by Portsmouth. The owners were master Thomas Thomson, Nicholas Carnaby, and John Gilman. The master was one Aches Hellier of Black-wall, and his Mate was one Richard Morris of that place: their Pilot was one Anthonie Jerado a Frenchman, of the province of Marseils: the purser was one William Thomson our owners sonne: the merchants factors were Romane Sonnings a Frenchman, and Richard Skegs servant unto the said master Staper. The owners were bound unto the merchants by charter partie thereupon, in one thousand markes, that the said ship by Gods permission should goe for Tripolis in Barbarie, that is to say, first from Portsmouth to Newhaven in Normandie, from thence to S. Lucar, otherwise called Saint Lucas in Andeluzia, and from thence to Tripolie, which is in the East part of Africa, and so to returne unto London. But here ought every man to note and consider the workes of our God, that many times what man doth determine God doth disappoint. The said master having some occasion to goe to Farmne, tooke with him the Pilot and the Purser, and returning againe by meanes of a perrie of winde, the boat wherein they were, was drowned, with the said master, the purser, and all the company: onely the said Pilot by experience in swimming saved himselfe: these were the beginnings of our sorrowes. After which the said masters mate would not proceed in that voiage, and the owner hearing of this misfortune, and the unwillingnesse of the masters mate, did send downe one Richard Deimond, and shipped him for master, who did chuse for his Mate one Andrew Dier, and so the said ship departed on her voiage accordingly: that is to say, about the 16 of October, in An. 1583. she made saile from Portsmouth, and the 18 day then next following she arrived at Newhaven, where our saide last master Deimond



by a surfeit died. The factors then appointed the said Andrew Dier, being then masters mate, to be their master for that voiage, who did chuse to be his Mates the two quarter masters of the same ship, to wit, Peter Austine, and Shillabey, and for Purser was shipped one Richard Burges. Afterward about the 8 day of November we made saile forthward, and by force of weather we were driven backe againe into Portesmouth, where we renewed our victuals and other necessaries, and then the winde came faire. About the 29 day then next following we departed thence, and the first day of December by meanes of a contrarie winde, wee were driven to Plimmouth. The 18 day then next following, we made foorthward againe, & by force of weather we were driven to Falmouth, where we remained untill the first day of January: at which time the winde comming faire, we departed thence, and about the 20 day of the said moneth we arrived safely at S. Lucar. And about the 9 day of March next following, we made saile from thence, and about the 18 day of the some moneth we came to Tripolis in Barbarie, where we were verie well intertained by the king of that countrey, and also of the commons. The commodities of that place are sweete oiles: the king there is a merchant, and the rather (willing to preferre himselfe before his commons) requested our said factors to traffique with him, and promised them that if they would take his oiles at his owne price, they should pay no maner of custome, and they tooke of him certaine tunnes of oile: and afterwarde perceiving that they might have farre better cheape notwithstanding the custome free, they desired the king to licence them to take the oiles at the pleasure of his commons, for that his price did excede theirs: whereunto the king would not agree, but was rather contented to abate his price, insomuch that the factors bought all their oyles of the king custome free, and so laded the same aboard.

In the meane time there came to that place one Miles Dickenson in a ship of Bristow, who together with our said Factors tooke a house to themselves there. Our French Factor Romane Sonnings desired to buy a commodity in the market, and wanting money, desired the saide Miles Dickenson to lend him an hundred Chikinoes untill he came to his lodging, which he did, and afterward the same Sonnings mette with Miles Dickenson in the

streete, and delivered him money bound up in a napkin : saying, master Dickenson there is the money that I borrowed of you, and so thanked him for the same : hee doubted nothing lesse then falshood, which is seldome knowne among marchants, and specially being together in one house, and is the more detestable betweene Christians, they being in Turkie among the heathen. The said Dickenson did not tell the money presently, untill he came to his lodging, and then finding nine Chikinoes lacking of his hundred, which was about three pounds, for that every Chikino is woorth seven shillings of English money, he came to the sayde Romane Sonnings and delivered him his handkerchiefe, and asked him howe many Chikinoes hee had delivered him? Sonnings answered, an hundred : Dickenson said no : and so they protested and swore on both parts. But in the end the sayd Romane Sonnings did sweare deeply with detestable othes and curses, and prayed God that hee might shewe his workes on him, that other might take ensample thereby, and that he might be hanged like a dogge, and never come into England againe, if he did not deliver unto the sayde Dickenson an hundred Chikinoes. And here beholde a notable example of all blasphemers, cursers and swearers, how God rewarded him accordingly : for many times it commeth to passe, that God sheweth his miracles upon such monstrous blasphemers, to the ensample of others, as nowe hereafter you shall heare what befell to this Romane Sonnings.

There was a man in the said towne a pledge, whose name was Patrone Norado, who the yere before had done this Sonnings some pleasure there. The foresaid Patrone Norado was indebted unto a Turke of that towne, in the summe of foure hundred and fiftie crownes, for certain goods sent by him into Christendome in a ship of his owne, and by his owne brother, and himselfe remained in Tripolis as pledge untill his said brothers returne : and, as the report went there, after his brothers arrivall into Christendome, he came among lewde companie, and lost his brothers said ship and goods at dice, and never returned unto him againe.

The said Patrone Norado being voyde of all hope, and finding now opportunitie, consulted with the said Sonnings for to swimme a seaboorde the Islands, and the ship being then out of danger, should take him in (as after was

confessed) and so to goe to Tolon in the province of Marseilis with this Patrone Norado, and there to take in his lading.

The shippe being readie the first day of May, and having her sayles all aboorde, our sayde Factors did take their leave of the king, who very courteously bidde them farwell, and when they came aboorde, they commaunded the Master and the companie hastily to get out the ship: the Master answered that it was impossible, for that the winde was contrary and overblowed. And he required us upon forfeiture of our bandes, that we should doe our indeavour to get her foorth. Then went wee to warpe out the shippe, and presently the king sent a boate aboard of us, with three men in her, commaunding the saide Sonnings to come a shoare: at whose comming, the king demaunded of him custome for the oyles: Sonnings answered him that his highnesse had promised to deliver them custome free. But notwithstanding the king weighed not his said promise, and as an infidell that hath not the feare of God before his eyes, nor regarde of his worde, albeit hee was a king, hee caused the sayde Sonnings to pay the custome to the uttermost penie. And afterwarde willed him to make haste away, saying, that the Janizaries would have the oyle ashoare againe.

These Janizaries are souldiers there under the great Turke, and their power is above the Kings. And so the saide Factor departed from the king, and came to the waterside, and called for a boate to come aboorde, and he brought with him the foresaid Patrone Norado. The companie inquisitive to know what man that was, Sonnings answered, that he was his countreyman, a passenger: I pray God said the companie, that we come not into trouble by this man. Then said Sonnings angerly, what have you to do with any matters of mine? if any thing chance otherwise then well, I must answere for all.

Nowe the Turke unto whom this Patrone Norado was indebted, missing him (supposed him to be aboorde of our shippe) presently went unto the King, and tolde him that hee thought that his pledge Patrone Norado was aboard of the English ship, whereupon the King presently sent a boat aboard of us, with three men in her, commaunding the said Sonnings to come a shoare, and not speaking any thing as touching the man, he saide that

hee would come presently in his owne boate, but assoone as they were gone, he willed us to warpe forth the ship, and saide that he would see the knaves hanged before he would goe a shoare. And when the king sawe that he came not a shoare, but still continued warping away the shippe, he straight commaunded the gunner of the bulwarke next unto us, to shoote three shootes without ball. Then we came all to the said Sonnings, and asked of him what the matter was that we were shot at, he said that it was the Janizaries who would have the oyle a shoare againe, and willed us to make haste away, and after that he had discharged three shots without ball, he commaunded all the gunners in the towne to doe their indeavour to sinke us, but the Turkish gunners could not once strike us, wherefore the king sent presently to the Banio: (this Banio is the prison wheras all the captives lay at night) and promised if that there were any that could either sinke us, or else cause us to come in againe, he should have a hundred crownes, and his libertie. With that came forth a Spaniard called Sebastian, which had bene an old servitour in Flanders, and he said, that upon the performance of that promise, hee would undertake either to sinke us, or to cause us to come in againe, and therto he would gage his life, and at the first shotte he split our rudders head in pieces, and the second shotte he strake us under the water, and the third shotte he shotte us through our foremast with a Colvering shot, and thus he having rent both our rudder and maste, and shot us under water, we were inforced to goe in againe.

This Sebastian for all his diligence herein, had neither his liberty, nor an hundred crownes, so promised by the said king, but after his service done was committed againe to prison, whereby may appeare the regard that the Turke or infidell hath of his worde, although he be able to performe it, yea more, though he be a king.

Then our merchants seeing no remedie, they together with five of our companie went a shoare, and then they ceased shooting: they shot unto us in the whole, nine and thirtie shootes, without the hurt of any man.

And when our marchants came a shoare, the King commaunded presently that they with the rest of our companie that were with them, should be cheined foure & foure, to a hundred waight of yron, and when we came in with the ship, there came presently above an hundred

Turks aboard of us, and they searched us, and stript our very clothes from our backes, and brake open our chests, and made a spoyle of all that we had : and the Christian caitifes likewise that came a boord of us made spoyle of our goods, and used us as ill as the Turkes did. And our masters mate having a Geneva Bible in his hand, there came the kings chiefe gunner, and tooke it out from him, who shewed me of it, and I having the language, went presently to the kings treasurer, and tolde him of it, saying, that sith it was the will of God that we should fall into their handes, yet that they should grant us to use our consciences to our owne discretion, as they suffered the Spaniards and other nations to use theirs, and he graunted us : then I told him that the maister gunner had taken away a Bible from one of our men : the Treasurer went presently and commaunded him to deliver up the Bible againe, which he did : & within a litle after he tooke it from the man againe, and I shewed the Treasurer of it, and presently he commaunded him to deliver it againe : saying, thou villaine, wilt thou turne to Christianitie againe? for he was a Renegado, which is one that first was a Christian, and afterwards becommeth a Turke, and so he delivered me the Bible the second time. And then I having it in my hand, the gunner came to me, and spake these wordes, saying, thou dogge, I wil have the booke in despight of thee, and tooke it from me, saying : If thou tell the kings treasurer of it any more, by Mahomet I will be revenged of thee. Notwithstanding I went the third time unto the kings Treasurer, and tolde him of it, and he came with me, saying thus unto the gunner : by the head of the great Turke, if thou take it from him againe, thou shalt have an hundred bastonadoes. And foorthwith he delivered me the booke, saying, he had not the value of a pin of the spoyle of the ship, which was the better for him, as hereafter you shall heare : for there was none, neither Christian nor Turke that tooke the value of a peniworth of our goods from us, but perished both bodie and goods within seventeene moneths following, as hereafter shall plainly appeare.

Then came the Guardian Basha, which is the keeper of the kings captives, to fetch us all a shoare, and then I remembring the miserable estate of poore distressed captives, in the time of their bondage to those infidels, went to mine owne chest, and tooke out thereof a jarre of oyle,



and filled a basket full of white Ruske to carie a shoare with me, but before I came to the Banio, the Turkish boyes had taken away almost all my bread, and the keeper saide, deliver me the jarre of oyle, and when thou comest to the Banio thou shalt have it againe, but I never had it of him any more.

But when I came to the Banio, and sawe our Marchants and all the rest of our company in chaines, and we all ready to receive the same reward, what heart in the world is there so hard, but would have pitied our cause, hearing or seeing the lamentable greeting there was betwixt us: all this happened the first of May, 1584.

And the second day of the same moneth, the King with all his counsell sate in judgement upon us. The first that were had forth to be arraigned, were the Factors, and the Masters, and the King asked them wherefore they came not a shoare when he sent for them. And Romaine Sonnings answered, that though he were king on shoare, and might commaunde there, so was hee as touching those that were under him: and therefore said, if any offence be, the fault is wholly in my selfe, and in no other. Then foorthwith the king gave judgement, that the saide Romaine Sonnings should be hanged over the Northeast bulwarke: from whence he conveyed the forenamed Patrone Norado, and then he called for our Master Andrew Dier, and used fewe wordes to him, and so condemned him to be hanged over the walles of the Westermost bulwarke.

Then fell our other Factor (named Richard Skegs) upon his knees before the king, and said, I beseech your highnesse either to pardon our Master, or else suffer me to die for him, for he is ignorant of this cause. And then the people of that countrey favouring the said Richard Skegs besought the king to pardon them both. So then the king spake these wordes: Beholde, for thy sake, I pardon the Master. Then presently the Turkes shouted, and cried, saying: Away with the Master from the presence of the king. And then he came into the Banio whereas we were, and tolde us what had happened, and we all rejoyced at the good hap of Master Skegs, that hee was saved, and our Master for his sake.

But afterward our joy was turned to double sorrow, for in the meane time the kings minde was altered: for that one of his counsell had advised him, that unlesse the

Master died also, by the lawe they could not confiscate the ship nor goods, neither captive any of the men : whereupon the king sent for our Master againe, and gave him another judgement after his pardon for one cause, which was that hee should be hanged. Here all true Christians may see what trust a Christian man may put in an infidels promise, who being a King, pardoned a man now, as you have heard, and within an houre after hanged him for the same cause before a whole multitude : and also promised our Factors their oyles custome free, and at their going away made them pay the uttermost penie for the custome thereof.

And when that Romaine Sonnings saw no remedy but that he should die, he protested to turne Turke, hoping thereby to have saved his life. Then saide the Turke, If thou wilt turne Turke, speake the words that thereunto belong : and he did so. Then saide they unto him, Now thou shalt die in the faith of a Turke, and so hee did, as the Turkes reported that were at his execution. And the forenamed Patrone Norado, whereas before he had libertie and did nothing, he then was condemned slave perpetuall, except there were payment made of the fore-said summe of money.

Then the king condemned all us, who were in number sixe and twentie, of the which, two were hanged (as you have heard) and one died the first day wee came on shoare, by the visitation of Almightye God : and the other three and twentie he condemned slaves perpetually unto the great Turke, and the ship and goods were confiscated to the use of the great Turke : and then we all fell downe upon our knees, giving God thanks for this sorrowfull visitation, and giving our selves wholly to the Almightye power of God, unto whom all secrets are knowen, that he of his goodnesse would vouchsafe to looke upon us.

Here may all true Christian hearts see the wonderfull workes of God shewed upon such infidels, blasphemers, whoremasters, and renegade Christians, and so you shall reade in the ende of this booke, of the like upon the unfaithfull king and all his children, and of as many as tooke any portion of the said goods.

But first to shewe our miserable bondage and slaverie, and unto what small pittance and allowance wee were tied, for every five men had allowance but five aspers of bread in a day, which is but two pence English : and our lodging

was to lye on the bare boords, with a very simple cape to cover us, wee were also forceably and most violently shaven, head and beard, and within three dayes after, 1 and sixe more of my fellowes, together with fourescore Italians and Spaniards were sent foorth in a Galeot to take a Greekish Carmosell, which came into Africa to steale Negroes, and went out of Tripolis unto that place, which was two hundred and fourtie leagues thence, but wee were chained three and three to an oare, and wee rowed naked above the girdle, and the Boteswaine of the Galley walked abaft the maste, and his Mate afore the maste, and eche of them a bulls pissell dried in their handes, and when their divelish choller rose, they would strike the Christians for no cause: And they allowed us but halfe a pound of bread a man in a day without any other kinde of sustenance, water excepted. And when we came to the place whereas wee saw the Carmosell, we were not suffered to have neither needle, bodkin, knife, or any other weapon about us, nor at any other time in the night, upon paine of one hundred bastonadoes: wee were then also cruelly manackled in such sort, that we could not put our handes the length of one foote asunder the one from the other, and every night they searched our chaines three times, to see if they were fast riveted: Wee continued fight with the Carmosell three houres, and then wee tooke it, and lost but two of our men in that fight, but there were slaine of the Greekes five, and foureteene were cruelly hurt, and they that were sound, were presently made slaves, and chained to the oares: and within fifteene dayes after we returned againe into Tripolis, and then wee were put to all maner of slaverie. I was put to hewe stones, and other to cary stones, and some to draw the Cart with earth, and some to make mortar, and some to draw stones, (for at that time the Turkes builded a church :) And thus we were put to all kinde of slaverie that was to be done. And in the time of our being there, the Moores that are the husbandmen of the countrey, rebelled against the king, because he would have constrained them to pay greater tribute then heretofore they had done, so that the Souldiours of Tripolis marched foorth of the towne to have joyned battell against the Moores for their rebellion, and the King sent with them foure pieces of Ordinance, which were drawn by the captives twentie miles into the Countrey after them, and at

the sight thereof the Moores fled, and then the Captaines returned backe againe. Then I and certaine Christians more were sent twelve miles into the countrey with a Cart to lode timber, and we returned againe the same day.

Nowe the king had 18. captives, which three times a weeke went to fetch wood thirtie miles from the towne : and on a time he appointed me for one of the 18. and wee departed at eight of the clocke in the night, and upon the way as wee rode upon the camels, I demaunded of one of our company, who did direct us the way? he sayd, that there was a Moore in our company which was our guide : and I demaunded of them how Tripolis and the wood bare one off the other? and hee said, East North-east, and West Southwest. And at midnight or neere thereabouts, as I was riding upon my camel, I fell asleepe, and the guide and all the rest rode away from me, not thinking but I had bene among them. When I awooke, and finding my selfe alone durst not call nor hallow for feare least the wilde Moores should heare me, because they holde this opinion, that in killing a Christian they do God good service : and musing with my selfe what were best for me to do, if I should goe foorth, and the wilde Moores should hap to meete with mee, they would kill mee : and on the other side, if I should returne backe to Tripolis without any wood or company, I should be most miserably used : therefore of two evils, rather I had to goe foorth to the loosing of my life, then to turne backe and trust to their mercie, fearing to bee used as before I had seene others : for understanding by some of my company before, howe Tripolis and the saide wood did lie one off another, by the North starre I went forth at adventure, and as God would have it, I came right to the place where they were, even about an houre before day : there altogether wee rested and gave our camels provender, and assoone as the day appeared, we rode all into the wood : and I seeing no wood there, but a sticke here and a sticke there, about the bignesse of a mans arme growing in the sand, it caused mee to marveile how so many camels should be loden in that place. The wood was Juniper, we needed no axe nor edge toole to cut it, but pluckt it up by strength of hands rootes and all, which a man might easily do, and so gathered it together, a little at one place and so at another, and laded our camels, and came home about seven of the clocke that night

following : because I fell lame, and my camel was tired, I left my wood in the way.

There was in Tripolis that time a Venetian, whose name was Benedetto Venetiano, and seventene captives more of his company, which ranne away from Tripolis in a boate, and came in sight of an Island called Malta, which lieth fourtie leagues from Tripolis right North, and being within a mile of the shoare, & very faire weather, one of their company said, In dispetto de dio adesso venio a pilliar terra, which is as much to say : In the despite of God I shall now fetch the shoare, and presently there arose a mighty storme, with thunder and raine and the wind at North, their boate being very small, so that they were inforced to beare up roome, and to sheare right afore the winde over against the coast of Barbarie from whence they came, and rowing up and downe the coast, their victuals being spent, the 21. day after their departure they were inforced through the want of food to come ashoare, thinking to have stolne some sheepe : but the Moores of the countrey very craftily perceiving their intent, gathered together a threescore horsemen, and hid themselves behinde a sandie hill, and when the Christians were come all a shoare, and past up halfe a mile into the countrey, the Moores rode betwixt them and their boate, and some of them pursued the Christians, and so they were all taken and brought to Tripolis, from whence they had before escaped : and presently the king commaunded that the foresaide Benedetto with one more of his company should lose their eares, and the rest should be most cruelly beaten, which was presently done. This king had a sonne which was a ruler in an Island called Gerbi, whereunto arrived an English shippe called the Greene Dragon, of the which was Master one M. Blonket, who having a very unhappy boy in that shippe, and understanding that whosoever would turne Turke should be well entertained of the kings sonne, this boy did runne a shoare, and voluntarily turned Turke. Shortly after the kings sonne came to Tripolis to visite his father, and seeing our company, hee greatly fancied Richard Burges our Purser, and James Smith : they were both yong men, therefore he was very desirous to have them to turne Turkes, but they would not yeeld to his desire, saying : We are your fathers slaves, and as slaves wee will serve him. Then his father the king sent for them, and asked them if they



would turne Turkes? And they saide: If it please your highnesse, Christians we were borne, and so we will remaine, and beseeched the king that they might not bee inforced thereunto. The king had there before in his house a sonne of a yeoman of our Queenes guard, whom the kings sonne had inforced to turne Turke, his name was John Nelson: him the king caused to be brought to these yong men, and then said unto them: Wil not you beare this your countreyman company, and be Turke as hee is? And they saide, that they would not yeeld thereunto during life. But it fell out, that within a moneth after, the kings sonne went home to Gerbi againe, being sixe score miles from Tripolis, and caried our two foresaid yong men with him, which were Richard Burges, and James Smith: and after their departure from us, they sent us a letter, signifying that there was no violence shewed unto them as yet, but within three dayes after they were violently used, for that the kings sonne demaunded of them againe, if that they would turne Turke? Then answered Richard Burges, a Christian I am, and so I will remaine. Then the kings sonne very angerly said unto him: By Mahomet thou shalt presently be made Turke. Then called he for his men, and commanded them to make him Turke, and they did so, and circuncised him, and would have had him speake the wordes that thereunto belonged, but he answered them stoutly that he would not: and although they had put on him the habite of a Turke, yet sayd he, A Christian I was borne, and so I will remaine, though you force me to doe otherwise.

And then he called for the other, and commaunded him to be made Turke perforce also: but he was very strong, for it was so much as eight of the kings sonnes men could doe to holde him, so in the ende they circumcised him, and made him Turke. Now to passe over a litle, and so to shewe the maner of our deliverance out of that miserable captivitie.

In May aforesaid, shortly after our apprehension, I wrote a letter into England unto my father dwelling in Tavistoke in Devonshire, signifying unto him the whole estate of our calamities: and I wrote also to Constantinople to the English Embassadour, both which letters were faithfully delivered. But when my father had received my letter, and understood the trueth of our mishap, and the occasion thereof, and what had happened to the offenders,

he certified the right honourable the earle of Bedford thereof, who in short space acquainted her highnesse with the whole cause thereof, and her Majestie like a most mercifull princesse tendering her Subjects, presently tooke order for our deliverance. Whereupon the right worshipful sir Edward Osborne knight directed his letters with all speed to the English Embassadour in Constantinople, to procure our delivery : and he obtained the great Turkes Commission, and sent it foorthwith to Tripolis, by one Master Edward Barton, together with a Justice of the great Turkes, and one souldiour, and another Turke, and a Greeke which was his interpretour, which could speake besides Greeke, Turkish, Italian, Spanish and English. And when they came to Tripolis, they were well interteined. And the first night they did lie in a Captaines house in the towne : all our company that were in Tripolis came that night for joy to Master Barton and the other Commissioners to see them. Then master Barton said unto us, welcome my good countreymen, and lovingly interteined us, and at our departure from him, he gave us two shillings, and said, Serve God, for to morrow I hope you shall be as free as ever you were ; We all gave him thanks and so departed.

The next day in the morning very early, the King having intelligence of their comming, sent word to the keeper, that none of the Englishmen (meaning our company) should goe to worke. Then he sent for Master Barton and the other Commissioners, and demanded of the saide Master Barton his message : the Justice answered, that the great Turke his Sovereigne had sent them unto him, signifying that he was informed that a certaine English shippe, called the Jesus, was by him the saide king confiscated, about twelve moneths since, and nowe my saide Sovereigne hath here sent his especiall commission by us unto you, for the deliverance of the saide shippe and goods, and also the free libertie and deliverance of the Englishmen of the same shippe, whom you have taken and kept in captivitie. And further the same Justice saide, I am authorized by my said soveraigne the great Turke to see it done : And therefore I commaund you by vertue of this commission, presently to make restitution of the premisses or the value thereof : and so did the Justices deliver unto the King the great Turkes commission to the effect aforesaide, which com-

mission the king with all obedience received : and after the perusing of the same, he forthwith commanded all the English captives to be brought before him, and then willed the keeper to strike off all our yrons, which done, the king said, You Englishmen, for that you did offend the lawes of this place, by the same lawes therefore some of your company were condemned to die as you knowe, and you to bee perpetuall captives during your lives : notwithstanding, seeing it hath pleased my soveraigne lord the great Turke to pardon your said offences, and to give you your freedome and libertie, beholde, here I make delivery of you to this English Gentleman : so hee delivered us all that were there, being thirteene in number, to Master Barton, who required also those two yong men which the Kings sonne had taken with him. Then the king answered that it was against their lawe to deliver them, for that they were turned Turkes : and touching the ship and goods, the king said, that he had solde her, but would make restitution of the value, and as much of the goods as came unto his hands, and so the king arose and went to dinner, and commaunded a Jew to goe with Master Barton and the other commissioners, to shew them their lodging, which was a house provided and appointed them by the said king. And because I had the Italian & Spanish tongues, by which their most trafique in that countrey is, Master Barton made me his Cater to buy his victuals for him and his company, and delivered me money needfull for the same. Thus were wee set at libertie the 28. day of April, 1585.

Nowe to returne to the kings plagues and punishments, which Almighty God at his will and pleasure sendeth upon men in the sight of the worlde, and likewise of the plagues that befell his children and others aforesaide. First when wee were made bondmen, being the second day of May 1584. the king had 300. captives, and before the moneth was expired, there died of them of the plague 150. And whereas there were 26. men of our company, of whom two were hanged, and one died the same day that wee were made bondslaves : that present moneth there died nine more of our company of the plague, and other two were forced to turne Turkes as before is rehearsed : and on the fourth day of June next following the king lost 150. camels, which were taken from him by the wilde Moores : and on the 28. day of the saide

moneth of June, one Geffrey Maltese, a renegado of Malta, ranne away to his countrey, and stole a Brigandine which the king had builded for to take the Christians withall, and caried with him twelve Christians more which were the kings captives. Afterward about the tenth day of July next following, the king road foorth upon the greatest and fairest mare that might be seene, as white as any swanne: hee had not ridden fourtie paces from his house, but on a sudden the same mare fell downe under him starke dead, and I with sixe more were commaunded to burie her, skinne, shoes and all, which we did. And about three moneths after our deliverie, Master Barton, with all the residue of his company, departed from Tripolie to Zante, in a vessell, called a Settea, of one Marcus Segoorus, who dwelt in Zante, and after our arrivall at Zante wee remained fifteene dayes there aboorde our vessell, before wee coulde have Platego (that is, leave to come a shoare) because the plague was in that place, from whence wee came: and about three dayes after we came a shoare, thither came another Settea of Marseils bound for Constantinople. Then did Master Barton, and his company, with two more of our company, shippe themselves as passengers in the same Settea, and went to Constantinople. But the other nine of us that remained in Zante, about three moneths after, shipt our selves in a shippe of the said Marcus Segoorus, which came to Zante, and was bound for England. In which three moneths, the souldiers of Tripolie killed the said king. And then the Kings sonne, according to the custome there, went to Constantinople, to surrender up all his fathers treasure, goods, captives, and concubines, unto the great Turke, and tooke with him our saide Purser Richard Burges, and James Smith, and also the other two Englishmen, which he the said kings sonne had inforced to become Turkes, as is aforesayd. And they the said Englishmen finding now some opportunitie, concluded with the Christian captives which were going with them unto Constantinople, being in number about one hundred and fiftie, to kill the kings sonne, and all the Turkes which were aboard of the Galley, and privily the saide Englishmen conveyed unto the saide Christian captives, weapons for that purpose. And when they came into the maine Sea, toward Constantinople (upon the faithfull promise of the sayde Christian captives (these foure Englishmen lept suddenly into the

Crossia, that is, into the midst of the Galley, where the canon lieth, and with their swordes drawne, did fight against all the foresaid Turkes, and for want of helpe of the saide Christian captives, who falsly brake their promises, the said Master Blonkets boy was killed, and the sayde James Smith, and our Pursser Richard Burges, and the other Englishman, were taken and bound into chaines, to be hanged at their arrivall in Constantinople: and as the Lordes will was, about two dayes after, passing through the gulfe of Venice, at an Island called Cephalonia, they met with two of the duke of Venice his Gallies, which tooke that Galley, and killed the kings sonne, and his mother, and all the Turkes that were there, in number 150. and they saved the Christian captives, and would have killed the two Englishmen because they were circumcised, and become Turkes, had not the other Christian captives excused them, saying, that they were inforced to be Turkes, by the kings sonne, and shewed the Venetians also, how they did enterprise at sea to fight against all the Turks, and that their two fellowes were slaine in that fight. Then the Venetians saved them, and they, with all the residue of the said captives, had their libertie, which were in number 150. or thereabouts, and the saide Gallie, and all the Turkes treasure was confiscated to the use of the state of Venice. And from thence our two Englishmen traueiled homeward by land, and in this meane time we had one more of our company, which died in Zante, and afterward the other eight shipped themselves at Zante, in a shippe of the said Marcus Segorus, which was bound for England: and before we departed thence, there arrived the Assension, and the George Bonaventure of London in Cephalonia, in a harbour there, called Arrogostoria, whose Marchants agreed with the Marchants of our shippe, and so laded al the marchandise of our shippe into the said ships of London, who tooke us eight in as passengers, and so we came home, and within two moneths after our arrivall at London, our said Purser Richard Burges, and his fellow came home also: for the which we are bound to praise Almighty God, during our lives, and as duetie bindeth us, to pray for the preservation of our most gracious Queene, for the great care her Majestie had over us, her poore Subjects, in seeking and procuring of our deliverance aforesaide: and also for her honourable privie Counsell, and I especiall for the prosperitie and good



estate of the house of the late deceased, the right honourable the Earle of Bedford, whose honour I must confesse, most diligently at the suite of my father now departed, traueiled herein : for the which I rest continually bounden to him, whose soule I doubt not, but is already in the heavens in joy, with the Almightye, unto which place he vouchsafe to bring us all, that for our sinnes suffered most vile and shameful death upon the Crosse, there to live perpetually world without ende, Amen.

The Queenes letters to the Turke 1584. for the restitution of the shippe called the Jesus, and the English captives detained in Tripolie in Barbarie, and for certaine other prisoners in Argier.

ELIZABETH, by the grace of the most high God, and onely maker of heaven and earth, of England, France and Ireland Queene, and of the Christian faith, against all the Idolaters and false professors of the Name of Christ dwelling among the Christians, most invincible and puissant defender : to the most valiant and invincible Prince, Zultan Murad Can, the most mightie ruler of the kingdome of Musulman, and of the East Empire the onely and highest Monarch above all, health, and many happy and fortunate yeres, with great aboundance of the best things.

Most noble and puissant Emperour, about two yeeres nowe passed, wee wrote unto your Imperiall Majestie, that our welbeloved servant, William Hareborne, a man of great reputation and honour, might be received under your high authoritie, for our Ambassadour in Constantinople, and other places, under the obedience of your Empire of Musulman : And also that the Englishmen, being our Subjects, might exercise entercourse and marchandize in all those Provinces, no lesse freely then the French, Polonians, Venetians, Germanes, and other your confederats, which traueile through divers of the East parts : endeavouring that by mutuall trafique, the East may be joyned and knit to the West.

Which privileges, when as your most puissant Majestie, by your letters and under your dispensation most liberally and favourably granted to our Subjects of England, wee could no lesse doe, but in that respect give you as great thankses, as our heart could conceive, trusting that it wil come to passe, that this order of trafique, so well ordeined, will bring with it selfe most great profits and

commodities to both sides, as well to the parties subject to your Empire, as to the Provinces of our kingdome. Which thing that it may be done in plaine and effectuall maner, whereas some of our Subjects of late at Tripolis in Barbarie, and at Argier, were by the inhabitants of those places (being perhaps ignorant of your pleasure) evill intreated and grievously vexed, wee doe friendly and lovingly desire your Imperiall Majestie, that you will understand their causes by our Ambassadour, and afterward give commaundement to the Lieutenants and Presidents of those Provinces, that our people may henceforth freely, without any violence, or injurie, traveile, and do their businesse in those places.

And we againe with all endeavour, shall studie to performe all those things, which we shall in any wise understand to be acceptable to your Imperiall Majestie, which God, the onely maker of the world, most best and most great, long keepe in health, and flourishing. Given in our pallaice at London, the fift day of the moneth of September, in the yeere of Jesus Christ our Saviour, 1584. And of our raigne, the 26.

The Turkes letter to the King of Tripolis in Barbarie, commanding the restitution of an English ship, called the Jesus, with the men, and goods, sent from Constantinople, by Mahomet Beg, a Justice of the Great Turkes, and an English Gentleman, called Master Edward Barton. Anno 1584.

HONOURABLE, and worthy Bassa Romadan Beglerbeg, most wise and prudent Judge of the West Tripolis, wee wish the ende of all thy enterprises happie, and prosperous. By these our highnesse letters, wee certifie thee, that the right honourable, William Hareborne, Ambassadour in our most famous Porch, for the most excellent Queenes Majestie of England, in person, and by letters hath certified our highnesse, that a certaine shippe, with all her furniture, and artillerie, worth two thousand duckets, arriving in the port of Tripolis, and discharged of her lading and marchandize, paid our custome according to order, and againe, the marchants laded their shippe with oyle, which by constraint they were inforced to buy of you, & having answered in like maner the custome for the same, determind to depart: a Frenchman assistant to the Marchant, unknownen to the Englishmen, caried away

with him another Frenchman indebted to a certaine Moore in foure hundred duckets, and by force caused the Englishmen, and shippe to depart : who neither suspecting fraude, nor deceite, hoised sailes. In the meane time, this man, whose debter the Frenchman had stollen away, went to the Bassa with the supplication, by whose meanes, and force of the Castle, the Englishmen were constrained to returne into the port, where the Frenchman, author of the evill, with the Master of the ship an Englishman, innocent of the crime were hanged, and sixe and twentie Englishmen cast into prison, of whom through famine, thirst, and stinke of the prison, eleven died, and the rest like to die. Further, it was signified to our Majestie also, that the marchandise and other goods, with the shippe, were worth 7600. duckets : which things if they be so, this is our commandement, which was granted and given by our Majestie, that the English shippe, and all the marchandize, and whatsoever else taken away bee wholly restored, and that the Englishmen be let goe free, and suffered to returne into their Countrey. Wherefore when this our commaundement shall come unto thee, wee straightly commaund, that the foresaid businesse be diligently looked unto, and discharged. And if it be so, that a Frenchman, and no Englishman hath done this craft, and wickednesse unknowen to the Englishmen, and as authour of the wickednesse is punished, and that the Englishmen committed nothing against the peace and league, or their articles : also if they payd custome according to order, it is against lawe, custome of Countreys, and their privilege, to hinder or hurt them. Neither is it meete, their shippe, marchandise, and all their goods taken, should be withholden. Wee will therefore, that the English shippe, marchandize, and all other their goods, without exception, be restored to the Englishmen : also that the men bee let goe free, and if they will, let none hinder them, to returne peaceably into their Countrey : do not commit, that they another time complaine of this matter, and how this businesse is dispatched, certifie us at our most famous porche.

Dated in the Citie of Constantinople, in the 992. yeere of Mahomet, and in the ende of the moneth of October ; and in the yeere of Jesus 1584.

A letter of Master William Hareborne, the English Ambassadour, Ligier in Constantinople, to the Bassa Romadan, the Beglerbeg of Tripolis in Barbarie, for the restoring of an English shippe called the Jesus, with the goods, and men, detained as slaves, Anno 1585.

RIGHT honourable Lord, it hath bene signified unto us by divers letters, what hath fallen out, concerning a certaine shippe of ours, called the Jesus, into which, for the helpe of Richard Skegs, one of our Marchants in the same, nowe deceased, there was admitted a certaine Frenchman called Romaine Sonnings, which for his ill behaviour, according to his deserts, seeking to cary away with him another Frenchman, which was indebted to certaine of your people, without paying his creditours, was hanged by sentence of justice, together with Andrew Dier, the Master of the said ship, who simply and without fraude, giving credite to the said Frenchman, without any knowledge of his evil fact, did not returne when hee was commaunded, by your honourable Lordship. The death of the said lewde Frenchman we approove as a thing well done, but contrarywise, whereas your Lordship hath confiscated the said ship with the goods therein, and hath made slaves of the Mariners, as a thing altogether contrary to the privileges of the Grand Signior, granted foure yeeres since, and confirmed by us on the behalfe of the most excellent the Queenes Majestie of England our Mystresse, and altogether contrary to the league of the saide Grand Signior, who being fully informed of the aforesaid cause, hath granted unto us his royall commandement of restitution, which we send unto your honourable Lordship, by the present bearer Edward Barton our Secretarie, and Mahomet Beg, one of the Justices of his stately Court, with other letters of the most excellent Admirall, and most valiant Captaine of the Sea, requiring your honourable Lordship, as well on the behalfe of the Grand Signior, as of the Queenes most excellent Majestie my Mystresse, that the men, oyles, shippe, furniture, money, and all other goods whatsoever, by your Lordship, and your order taken from our men, be restored unto this my Secretary freely, without delay, as the Grand Signior of his goodnesse hath graunted unto us, especially in regard that the same oyles were bought by the commaundement of our Queenes most excellent Majestie, for the provision of her Court. Which

if you performe not, wee protest by these our leters against you, that you are the cause of all the inconveniences which may ensue upon this occasion, as the authour thereof, contrary to the holy league sworne by both our Princes, as by the privileges, which this our servant will shewe you, may appeare. For the seeing of which league performed, wee remaine here as Ligier in this stately Court. And by this meanes you shall answere in another world unto God alone, and in this world unto the Grand Signior, for this hainous sinne committed by you against so many poore soules, which by this your cruelty are in part dead, and in part detained by you in most miserable captivitie. Contrarywise, if it shall please you to avoyd this mischiefe, and to remaine in the favour of Almighty God, and of our Princes, you shall friendly fulfill this our just demaund (as it behoveth you to shew your selfe a prudent Governour, and faithfull servant unto your Lord) and the same may turne to your great honour, and profite, by the trade of marchandize, which our men in time to come, may use in that government of yours: which generally, as well those poore men, as all others, which you shall meete at the sea, ought to be according to the commandement of the Grand Signior, friendly entertained and received of your honourable Lordship, and we will not faile in the duties of a speciall friend, whensoever you shal have occasion to use us, as we desire. Almighty God grant unto your Lordship (in the fulfilling of this our just request, whereby wee may be delivered from further trouble in this matter, and your selfe from further displeasure) all true felicitie, and increase of honour.

Given in our Pallace from Rapamat in Pera, the  
15. of Januarie 1585.

The voyage of Master Henry Austell by Venice and thence to Ragusa over land, and so to Constantinople: and from thence by Moldavia, Polonia, Silesia and Germanie to Hamburg, &c.

THE 9. of June we tooke shipping at Harewich and the next day landed at the Ramekins in the Isle of Walcheren with very stormy weather, and that night went to Middleburch in the same Island.

The twelft we tooke shipping for Holland, and the 13. we landed at Schiedam: and the same day went to Delft by boat, and so that night to the Hage.



The 17. we tooke shipping at Amsterdam, and the 18. we landed at Enckhuysen.

The 19. we tooke shipping and by the Zuydersee we passed that day the Ulie, and so into the maine sea; And the next day we entred into the river of Hamburg called the Elbe.

The 21. we came to anker in the same river before a towne of the bishop of Breme called Staden, where they pay a certaine toll, and specially for wine, and so that night wee landed at Hamburg, where we stayde three dayes.

The 24. wee departed from Hamburg in the company of Edward Parish Marchant, and that day wee baited at Wyntson, and so over the heathes we left Lunenburg on the left hand, and travailed all that night.

The 25. we met with Master Sanders upon the heathes, and passed by a towne of the duke of Lunenburg called Geffherne, and from thence through many waters, wee lay that night within an English mile of Brunswig.

The 27. we lay at Halberstat, which is a great towne subject to the bishop of that towne.

The 28. we baited at Erinsleiben: and there wee entred into the duke of Saxon his countrey: and the same night we lay at a towne called Eisleben, where Martine Luther was borne.

The 29. we passed by Mansfield, where there are many Copper mines: and so that night went to Neuburg upon the river of Sala; and at that time there was a great faire.

The 30. we baited at a proper towne called Jena upon the same river, and the same night wee lay at Cone upon that river.

The first of July we baited at Salfeld: and the same day we entred first into the great woods of firre trees, and that night to Grevandal; The second to dinner to Neustat.

The 3. day to dinner at Bamberg: and before wee came to the towne wee passed the river of Mayne that runneth towards Arnfurt, and that night to Forchaim.

The 4. we came to Nurenberg, and there stayed two dayes. The 6. to bed to Blayfield.

The 7. we passed without Weissenburg to dinner at Monhaim, and that night we passed the river of Danubius at Tonewerth, and so to bed to Nurendof.

The 8. we came to Augspurg, otherwise called Augusta, upon the river of Lech.

The 9. we lay at Landsberg upon the said river, in the duke of Bavars countrey.

The 10. to dinner at Svanego, and that night to Hamber against the mountaines, where the small toyes be made.

The 11. to dinner to Parcberk, & that night to Sefelt in the Archduke of Austria his countrey.

The 12. to dinner at Inspruck, & that night to bed at Landeck, where there is a toll, and it is the place where Charles the fift and his brother Ferdinand did meet. And there is a table of brasse with Latine letters in memorie thereof.

The 13. we passed by Stizen, and dined at Prisena, and so that night to Clusen.

The 14. to dinner at Bolsan and to bed at Neumark, and by the way we passed the dangerous place, where so many murthers have bene committed.

The 15. to dinner at Trent: That day we entred the borders of Italy, that night to Lenigo.

The 16. to dinner at Grigno, where the last toll of the Emperour is: and so we came by Chursa, which is a streight passage. And the keeper thereof is drawne up by a cord into his holde. And that night we went to Capana to bed in the countrey of the Venetians.

The 17. to dinner at castle Franco: by the way we stayed at Tarviso, and there tooke coche, and that night came to Mestre to bed.

The 18. in the morning we came to Venice, and there we stayed 15. dayes. In which time the duke of Venice called Nicholas de Ponte died, and we saw his burial. The Senators were continually shut up together, as the maner is, to chuse a newe duke, which was not yet chosen when we departed from thence.

The 2. of August at night wee did embarke our selves upon the Frigate of Cattaro, an haven neere Ragusa. The 3. we came to a towne in Istria called Citta nova.

The 4. we came to Parenzo, and so that night to Forcera of the bishop.

The 5. we passed by Rovigno: and a litle beyond we met with 3. Galies of the Venetians: we passed in the sight of Pola; and the same day passed the gulfes that parteth Istria from Dalmatia.

The 6. of August we came to Zara in Dalmatia, a

strong towne of the Venetians: and so that night to Sebenico, which standeth in a marveilous goodly haven, with a strong castle at the entrie thereof.

The 7. we came to Lezina, and went not on shoore, but traueiled all night.

The 8. we passed by a very wel seated towne called Curzola, which standeth in an island of that name.

The 9. in the morning betimes we landed at Ragusa, and there stayed three daies, where we found many friendly gentlemen.

The 11. being provided of a Janizarie we departed from Ragusa in the company of halfe a dosen Marchants of that towne: and within 6. miles we entred into the countrey of Servia. So traueiling in barren and craggie mountaines for the space of foure dayes, wee came by a small Towne of the Turkes called Chiernisa, being the 14. of the moneth; and there wee parted from the Marchants.

The 16. we dined in a Cavarsara in a Towne called Focea, being then greatly infected with the plague.

The 17. we lay by a Towne called Taslizea.

The 20. we came to Novibazar.

The 21. we parted from thence, trauiailing stil in a countrey very ill inhabited, & lying in ye fields.

The 22. we passed within sight of Nicea.

The 23. we passed in sight of another towne called Circui: and about those places wee began to leave the mountaines, and to enter into a very faire and fertile countrey, but as evill inhabited as the other, or worse.

The 27. we came to Sophia, where wee stayed three dayes, being our Janizaries home: and by good chance we lay in a Marchants house of Ragusa, that came in company with us from Novibazar; and also wee had in company, ever since wee came from Focea, a Turke which was a very good fellow, and he kept company with us till we came very neere Constantinople.

The first of September we came to Philipopolis, which seemeth to be an ancient towne, and standeth upon the river of Stanuch.

The 4. we came to Andrinopoli, a very great and ancient towne, which standeth in a very large and champion countrey, and there the great Turks mother doth lye, being a place, where the Emperours of the Turkes were wont to lye very much.

The 5. we lay in one of the great Cavarzaras, that







were built by Mahomet Bassha with so many goodly commodities.

The 6. we lay in another of them.

The 8. we came to Siliveri, which by report was the last towne that remained Christian.

The 9. of September wee arrived at the great and most stately Citie of Constantinople, which for the situation and proude seate thereof, for the beautifull and commodious havens, and for the great and sumptuous buildings of their Temples, which they call Moschea, is to be preferred before all the Cities of Europe. And there the Emperour of the Turkes then living, whose name was Amurat, kept his Court and residence, in a marveilous goodly place, with divers gardens and houses of pleasure, which is at the least two English miles in compasse, and the three parts thereof joyne upon the sea: and on the Northeast part of the Citie on the other side of the water over against the Citie is the Towne of Pera, where the most part of the Christians do lye. And there also wee did lye. And on the North part of the saide Towne is the Arsenal, where the Galies are built and doe remaine: And on the Southside is all the Ordinance, artillerie, and houses of munition. Note that by the way as wee came from Ragusa to Constantinople, wee left on our right hand the Countreys of Albania, and Macedonia, and on the left hande the countreys of Bosnia, Bulgaria, and the river of Danubius.

The 14. of September was the Turkes Beyram, that is, one of their chiefeest feastes.

The 15. we went to the blacke Sea called Pontus Euxinus, and there upon a rocke we sawe a pillar of white Marble that was set up by Pompeius: and from thence we passed to the other side of the water, upon the shore of Asia and there we dined.

The 25. we departed from Constantinople.

The 29. we came to an ancient Towne called Cherchisea, that is to say, fourtie Churches, which in the olde time was a very great City, now full of scattered buildings.

The 4. of October wee came to Prouaz, one dayes journey distant from Varna upon the Blacke Sea.

The 9. we came to Saxi upon the river of Danubius.

The 10. we passed the said river which in that place is about a mile over, and then we entred into the countrey of Bogdania: they are Christians but subjects to the Turke.

The 12. we came to Palsin upon the river Prut.

The 14. wee came to Yas the principall Towne of Bogdania, where Peter the Vayvoda prince of that Countrey keepeth his residence, of whom wee received great courtesie, and of the gentlemen of his Court: And he caused us to be safe conducted through his said Countrey, and conveyed without coste.

The 17. we came to Stepanitze.

The 19. we came to Zotschen, which is the last towne of Bogdania upon the river of Neister, that parteth the said countrey from Podolia.

The 20. we passed the river of Nyester and came to Camyenetz in the countrey of Podolia, subject to the king of Poland: this is one of the strongest Townes by nature and situation that can be seene.

The 21. we came to Skala.

The 22. to Slothone, or Sloczow.

The 24. to Leopolis which is in Russia alba, and so is the most part of the countrey betwixt Camyenetz and it. And it is a towne very well built, well governed, full of trafique and plentifull: and there we stayed five dayes.

The 30. we baited at Grodecz, and that night at Vilna.

The 31. we dined at Mostiska, and that night at Rodmena.

The first of November in the morning before day wee passed without the Towne of Jaroslaw, where they say is one of the greatest faires in all Poland, and chiefly of horses, and that night to Rosdnoska.

The second to dinner at Lanczut, at night to Retsbou.

The thirde to Sendxizow, at night to Tarnow, and that night wee mette with the Palatine Laski.

The fourth to Vonuez, and that night to Brytska.

The fift to Kuhena.

The 6. to Cracovia the principall Citie of all Poland: at which time the King was gone to Lituania: for he doeth make his residence one yeere in Poland, and the other in Lituania. Cracovia standeth on the river of Vistula.

The 9. wee departed from Cracovia, and that night wee came to a village hard by a Towne called Ilkusch, where the leade Mines are.

The 10. wee passed by a Towne called Slawkow: where there are also leade Mines, and baited that day at Bendzin,

which is the last towne of Poland towards Silesia; and there is a toll.

Note that all the Countreys of Poland, Russia alba, Podolia, Bogdania, and divers other Countreys adjoyning unto them, doe consume no other salt but such as is digged in Sorstyn mountaine neere to Cracovia which is as hard as any stone; it is very good, and goeth further then any other salt. That night we lay at Bitom, which is the first Towne of Silesia.

The 12. we passed by a great towne called Strelitz, and that night we lay at Oppelen upon the river of Odera.

The 13. we passed by Schurgasse, and that night wee lay without the towne of Brigg: for wee coulde not bee suffered to come in by reason of the plague which was in those partes in divers Townes.

The 14. we passed by Olaw, and that night wee came to the Citie of Breslaw, which is a faire towne, great, well built and well seated upon the river of Odera.

The 16. we baited at Neumargt.

The 17. wee passed by Lignizt and by Hayn, and that night to Buntzel.

The 18. wee passed by Naumburg through Gorlitz upon the river of Neiss, and that night lay without Reichenbach.

The 19. we passed by Baudzen and Cannitz, and that night to Rensperg.

The 20. we passed by Hayn, by Strelen, where we should have passed the river of Elbe, but the boate was not there, so that night we lay at a towne called Mulberg.

The 21. we passed the said river, wee went by Belgern, by Torga, by Dumitch; and at night to Bretsch.

The 22. wee passed the Elbe againe at Wittenberg, which is a very strong towne, with a good Universitie: and that day we passed by Coswig.

The 23. wee passed through Zerbst in the morning, and that night to Magdeburg, a very strong Towne, and well governed as wee did heare. The most part of the Countrey, after wee were come one dayes journey on this side Breslawe to this place, belongeth to the Duke of Saxon.

The 24. wee passed by a castle of the Marques of Brandenburg called Wolmerstat, and that night we lay at Garleben.

The 25. wee lay at Soltwedel.

The 26. at Berg.

The 27. we baited at Lunenburg, that night we lay at Winson.

The 28. we came to Hamborg, and there stayed one weeke.

The 5. of December wee departed from Hamborg, and passed the Elbe by boate being much frosen, and from the river went on foote to Buxtchoede, being a long Dutch mile off, and there we lay; and from thence passed over land to Emden.

Thence having passed through Friseland and Holland, the 25. being Christmas day in the morning we came to Delft: where wee found the right honourable the Earle of Leicester with a goodly company of Lords, knights, gentlemen, and souldiers.

The 28. at night to Roterodam.

The 29. to the Briel, and there stayed eight dayes for passage.

The fifth of January we tooke shipping.

The 7. we landed at Gravesend, and so that night at London with the helpe of almightie God.

The Turkes passeport or safeconduct for Captaine Austell, and Jacomo Manuchio.

Know thou which art Voyvoda of Bogdania, & Valachia, & other our officers abiding and dwelling on the way by which men commonly passe into Bogdania, and Valachia, that the Embassador of England having two English gentlemen desirous to depart for England, the one named Henry Austel, and the other Jacomo de Manuchio, requested our highnesse letters of Safeconduct to passe through our dominions with one servant to attende on them. Wherefore wee straightly charge you and all other our servants by whom they shall passe, that having received this our commandement, you have diligent care and regard that they may have provided for them in this their journey (for their money) all such necessary provision as shalbe necessary for themselves and their horses, in such sort as they may have no cause hereafter to complaine of you. And if by chaunce they come unto any place, where they shal stand in feare either of their persons or goods, that then you carefully cause them to bee guarded with your men, and to be conducted through all suspected places, with sufficient company; But have great regard that they convey not out of our countrey any of

our serviceable horses. Obey our commandement, and give credite to this our Seale.

A Passeport of the Earle of Leicester for Thomas Forster gentleman travailing to Constantinople.

ROBERTUS COMES LEICESTRIÆ, baro de Denbigh, ordinum Garterii & Sancti Michaelis eques auratus, Serenissimæ Reginæ Angliæ a Secretioribus consiliis, & magister equorum, dux & capitaneus generalis exercitus ejusdem Regiæ majestatis in Belgio, & gubernator generalis Hollandiæ, Zelandiæ, & provinciarum unitarum & associatarum, omnibus ad quos præsentis literæ pervenerint, salutem. Cùm lator præsentium Thomas Forster nobilis Anglus necessariis de causis hinc Constantinopolim profecturus sit, & inde ad nos quanta potest celeritate reversurus: petimus ab omnibus & singulis Regibus, principibus, nobilibus, magistratibus, & aliis, mandent & permittant dicto Thomæ cum duobus famulis liberum transitum per eorum ditiones & territoria sine detentione aut impedimento injusto, & provideri sibi de necessariis justum precium reddenti, ac aliter convenienter & humaniter tractari, ut occasiones ejus eundi & redeundi requirent: Sicut nos Majestates, Serenitates, Celsitudines, & dominationes vestræ paratos invenietis, ut vestratibus in similibus casibus gratum similiter faciamus.

Datum in castris nostris Duisburgi, decimo die Septembris, anno 1586. stylo veteri.

A description of the yeerely voyage or pilgrimage of the Mahumitans, Turkes and Moores unto Mecca in Arabia.

ALEXANDRIA the most ancient citie in Africa situated by the seaside containeth seven miles in circuite, and is environed with two walles one neere to the other with high towers, but the walles within be farre higher then those without, with a great ditch round about the same: yet is not this Citie very strong by reason of the great antiquitie, being almost halfe destroyed and ruinated. The greatnesse of this Citie is such, that if it were of double habitation, as it is compassed with a double wall, it might be truely said, that there were two Alexandrias one builded upon another, because under the foundations of the saide City are great habitations, and incredible huge pillars. True it is, that this part underneath remaineth at this day



inhabitable, because of the corrupt aire, as also for that by time, which consumeth all things, it is greatly ruined. It might well be sayd, that the founder hereof, as he was worthy in all his enterprises, so likewise in building hereof he did a worke worthy of himselfe, naming it after his owne name. This Citie hath one defect, for it is subject to an evill ayre, which onely proceedeth of that hollownesse underneath, out of the which issueth infinite moisture: and that this is true the ayre without doth evidently testifie, which is more subtile and holesome then that beneath. The waters hereof be salt, by reason that the soile of it selfe is likewise so. And therefore the inhabitants, at such time as the river Nilus floweth, are accustomed to open a great ditch, the head wherof extendeth into the said river, and from thence they conveigh the same within halfe a mile of Alexandria, and so consequently by meanes of conduct-pipes the water commeth unto the cesterne of Alexandria, which being full serve the citie from one inundation to another. Within the citie is a Pyramide mentioned of in Histories, but not of great importance. Without the citie is La colonna di Pompeio, or the pillar of Pompey, being of such height and thicknesse, that it is supposed there is not the like in the whole world besides. Within the citie there is nothing of importance save a litle castle which is guarded with 60 Janizaries. Alexandria hath three portes, one towards Rossetto, another to the land ward, & the third to the sea ward, which is called Babelbar, without which appeareth a broad Iland called Ghesira in the Moores tongue, which is not wholly an Iland, because a litle point or corner thereof toucheth the firme lande, and therefore may be called Peninsula, that is to say, almost an Iland. Hereupon are builded many houses of the Jewes, in respect of the aire. This Peninsula is situate betweene two very good ports, one of them being much more safe then the other, called The old port, into the which only the vessels of Barbarie, and the sixe Gallies of the Grand Signior deputeth for the guard of Alexandria doe enter. And this port hath upon the right hand at the mouth or enterance thereof a castle of small importance, and guarded but with fifteene men or thereabouts. On the other side of this Iland is the other called The new port, which name is not unfityly given unto it, for that in all mens judgement in times past there hath not beene water there, because in the

midst of this port, where the water is very deepe, there are discovered and found great sepulchres and other buildings, out of the which are dayly digged with engines Jasper and Porphyrie stones of great value, of the which great store are sent to Constantinople for the ornament of the Mesquitas or Turkish Temples, and of other buildings of the Grand Signior. Into this port enter all such vessels as traffique to this place. This port hath on each side a castle, whereof that upon the Peninsula is called Faraone, upon the toppe whereof every night there is a light set in a great lanterne for direction of the ships, and for the guard thereof are appointed 200 Janizaries: the other on the other side is but a litle castle kept by 18 men. It is certaine, that this haven of Alexandria is one of the chiefeest havens in the world: for hither come to traffique people of every Nation, and all sorts of vessels which goe round about the citie. It is more inhabited by strangers, marchants, and Christians, then by men of the countrey which are but a few in number. Within the citie are five Fontechi, that is to say, one of the Frenchmen, where the Consul is resident, & this is the fairest and most commodious of all the rest. Of the other foure, two belong to the Venetians, one to the Raguseans, and the fourth to the Genoueses. And all strangers which come to traffique there, except the Venetians, are under the French Consull. It is also to be understood, that all the Christians dwell within their Fontechi, and every evening at the going downe of the sunne, they which are appointed for that office goe about and shut all the gates of the saide Fontechi outward, and the Christians shut the same within: and so likewise they doe on the Friday (which is the Moores and the Turkes Sabbath) till their devotions be expired. And by this meanes all parties are secure and voide of feare: for in so doing the Christians may sleepe quietly and not feare robbing, and the Moores neede not doubt whiles they sleepe or pray, that the Christians should make any tumult, as in times past hath happened.

#### Of the Coast of Alexandria.

ON the side towards Barbarie along the sea-coast for a great space there is founde neither hold, nor any thing worthy of mention: but on the other side towards Syria 13 miles from Alexandria standeth a litle castle called

Bichier kept by fiftie Turkes, which castle is very olde and weake, and hath a port which in times past was good, but at this present is utterly decayed and full of sand, so that the vessels which come thither dare not come neere the shoare, but ride far off into the sea. Fortie miles further is Rossetto, which is a litle towne without walles, and is situate upon the banke of Nilus three miles from the sea, at which place many times they build ships and other vessels, for government whereof is appointed a Sanjacobey, without any other guard: it is a place of traffique, and the inhabitants are very rich, but naughtie varlets and traytours. Further downe along the sea-side and the river banke is another litle castle like unto the abovesayde, and because the Moores beleewe, that Mecca will in short time be conquered by the Christians, they holde opinion, that the same being lost shall be renued in this place of Rossetto, namely, that all their prayers, vowes, and pilgrimages shall be transported to Rossetto, as the religious order of Saint John of the Rhodes is translated thence to Malta. Further forward thirtie miles standes another castle of small importance called Brulles, kept continually by fourtie Turkes, which hath a good and secure port, in forme like to a very great lake or ponde, wherein is taken great quantitie of fish, which they salt, and the marchants of Candie and Cyprus come thither to lade the same, and it is greatly esteemed, especially of the Candiots, who having great abundance of wine adventure abroad to seeke meate fitte for the taste of the sayd wine. Distant from Brulles five and thirtie miles there is another castle like unto the abovesayd kept by an Aga with fourtie men or thereabout. More within the lande by the rivers side is Damiata an auncient citie environed with walles contayning five miles in circuit, and but of small strength. For the government of this place is a Sanjaco with all his housholde and no other companie. This citie is very large, delightfull, and pleasant, abounding with gardens and faire fountaines. Other fortie miles further is Latma, a castle of very small importance, and kept as other with fortie Turkes under an Aga. In this place is no port, but a roade very daungerous, and without other habitation. Passing this place we enter Judea. But because our intent is to reason simply of the voyage to Mecca, we will proceede no further this way, but returning to our

first way, let it suffice to say, that from Alexandria to Cairo are two hundred miles, in which way I finde nothing woorthie of memorie.

Of the mightie Citie of Cairo.

CAIRO containeth in circuit eighteene miles, being so inhabited and replenished with people, that almost it cannot receive more; and therefore they have begunne to builde newe houses without the citie and about the walles. In Cairo are people of all Nations, as Christians, Armenians, Abexins, Turkes, Moores, Jewes, Indians, Medians, Persians, Arabians, and other sortes of people, which resort thither by reason of the great traffique. This citie is governed by a Basha, which ministreth justice, together with the Cadie throughout the whole kingdome. Also there are two and twentie Sanjacks, whose office is onely to oversee and guarde the kingdome for every good respect. There are also seven thousand Turkes in pay, to wit, three thousand Janizaries, and foure thousand horsemen: The rest of the people in Cairo are for the most part marchants which goe and come, and the remnant are Moores and other base people. About two miles from Cairo there is another little Cairo called The olde Cairo, which containeth in circuit litle more then tenne miles, and the better halfe is not inhabited, but destroyed, whereof I neede not make any other mention. The new Cairo answereth every yeere in tribute to the grand Signior, 600000 ducates of golde, neat and free of all charges growing on the same, which money is sent to Constantinople, about the fine of September, by the way of Aleppo, alwayes by lande, under the custodie of three hundred horsemen and two hundred Janizaries footmen. The citie of Cairo is adorned with many faire Mesquitas rich, great, and of goodly and gorgeous building, among which are five principall. The first is called Morastano, that is to say, The hospitall, which hath of rent five hundred ducats of golde every day left unto it by a king of Damasco from auncient times; which king having conquered Cairo, for the space of five dayes continually put the people thereof to the sword, and in the end repenting him of so great manslaughter, caused this cruelty to cease, and to obtaine remission for his sinne committed, caused this hospitall to be built, enriching it as is abovesaid. The second

famous monument of Cairo is called Neffisa, of one Neffisa buried there, who was a Dame of honour, and mooved by lust, yeelded her body voluntarily without rewarde, to any that required the same, and sayde she bestowed this almes for the love of her Prophet Mahomet, and therefore at this day they adore her, reverence her, and finally have canonized her for a Saint, affirming that shee did many miracles. The third is called Zavia della Innachari, who was one of the foure Doctors in the law. The fourth is called Imamsciafi, where is buried Sciafi the second Doctor of this law. Of the other two Doctors one is buried in Damasco, the other in Aleppo. The fift & last famous monument is Giamalazar, that is, the house of Lazarus: and this is the generall University of the whole kingdome of Egypt. In this place Anno 1566 in the moneth of January by misfortune of fire were burned nine thousand bookes of great value, as well for that they were written by hand, as also wrought so richly with golde, that they were worth 300 and 400 ducats a piece, one with another. And because it could never be knownen yet how this fire beganne, they have and doe holde the same for a most sinister augurie, and an evident and manifest signe of their utter ruine. The houses of Cairo without are very faire, & within the greater number richly adorned with hangings wrought with golde. Every person which resorteth to this place for traffiques sake, is bound to pay halfe a ducatk, except the gentlemen Venetians, Siotes, and Rhaguseans, because they are tributarie to the Grand Signior. Cairo is distant from the river Nilus a mile and more, being situate on a plaine, save that on the one side it hath a faire little hill, on the toppe whereof stands a faire castle, but not strong, for that it may be battered on every side, but very rich & large, compassed about with faire gardens into the which they conveigh water for their necessitie out of Nilus, with certaine wheelles & other like engines. This magnificent citie is adorned with very fruitfull gardens both pleasant and commodious, with great plenty of pondes to water the same. Notwithstanding the great pleasures of Cairo are in the moneth of August, when by meanes of the great raine in Ethiopia the river Nilus overfloweth and watereth all the countrey, and then they open the mouth of a great ditch, which extendeth into the river, and passeth through the midst of the citie, and



entring there are innumerable barkes rowing too and fro laden with gallant girles and beautifull dames, which with singing, eating, drinking and feasting, take their solace. The women of this countrey are most beautifull, and goe in rich attire bedecked with gold, pretious stones, and jewels of great value, but chiefly perfumed with odours, and are very libidinous, and the men likewise, but foule and hard favoured. The soile is very fertile and abundant, the flesh fat which they sell without bones, their candles they make of the marowe of cattell, because the Moores eat the tallow. They use also certaine litle furnaces made of purpose, under the which they make fire, putting into the furnace foure or five hundred egges, and the said fire they nourish by litle and litle, untill the chickens be hatched, which after they be hatched, and become somewhat bigger, they sell them by measure in such sort, as we sell and measure nuts and chestnuts and such like.

Of certaine notable monuments without the citie of  
Cairo.

WITHOUT the Citie, sixe miles higher into the land, are to be seene neere unto the river diverse Piramides, among which are three marveilous great, and very artificially wrought. Out of one of these are dayly digged the bodies of auncient men, not rotten but all whole, the cause whereof is the qualitie of the Egyptian soile, which will not consume the flesh of man, but rather dry and harden the same, and so alwayes conserveth it. And these dead bodies are the Mummie which the Phisitians and Apothecaries doe against our willes make us to swallow. Also by digging in these Pyramides oftentimes are found certaine Idoles or Images of golde, silver, and other mettall, but under the other piramides the bodies are not taken up so whole as in this, but there are found legges and armes comparable to the limmes of giants. Neare to these piramides appeareth out of the sand a great head of stone somewhat like marble, which is discovered so farre as the necke joyneth with the shoulders, being all whole, saving that it wanteth a little tippe of the nose. The necke of this head containeth in circuit about sixe and thirty foot, so that it may be according to the necke considered, what greatnesse the head is of. The river Nilus is a mile broad, wherein are very many great

Crocodiles from Cairo upward, but lower then Cairo passeth no such creature : and this, they say, is by reason of an inchantment made long since which hindereth their passage for comming any lower then Cairo. Moreover of these creatures there are sometimes found some of an incredible bignesse, that is to say, of fourtie foot about. The males have their members like to a man, and the females like to a woman. These monsters oftentimes issue out of the water to feede, and finding any small beasts, as sheepe, lambes, goates, or other like, doe great harme. And whiles they are foorth of the water, if they happen at unwares upon any man, woman or childe, whom they can overcome, they spare not their lives. In the yeere of our Lorde one thousand five hundred and sixtie it happened, that certaine poore Christians traveling by Cairo towardes the countrey of Prete Janni to rescue certaine slaves, were guided by a Chaus, and journeyed alongst the banke of the said river. The Chaus remained lingering alone behinde to make his prayers (as their custome is) at a place called Tana, whom being busie in his double devotion one of these Crocodiles ceazed by the shoulders, and drew him under water, so that he was never after seene. And for this cause they have made in sundry places certaine hedges as bankes within the water, so that betwixt the hedge and banke of the river there remaineth so much water, that the women washing may take water without danger at their pleasure. This countrey is so fruitfull, that it causeth the women as also other creatures to bring foorth one, two, and oft-times three at a birth. Five miles southwarde of Cairo is a place called Matarea, where the balme is refined : and therefore some will say, that the trees which beare the balme growe in the said place, wherein they are deceived : for the sayde trees growe two dayes journey from Mecca, in a place called Bedrihone, which yeeldeth balme in great plenty, but salvage, wilde, and without vertue, and therefore the Moores carying the same within litle chests from Bedrihone to Matarea, where the trees being replanted (be it by vertue of the soyle, or the water, aire, or any other thing whatsoever) it sufficeth that here they beare the true balme and licour so much in these dayes esteemed of. In this place of Matarea there are certaine little houses, with most goodly gardens, and a chappell of antiquity, where the very

Moorees themselves affirme, that the mother of the blessed Christ fleeing from the fury of wicked Herode there saved her selfe with the childe, wherein that saying of the Prophet was fulfilled, *Ex Ægypto vocavi filium meum*. The which Chappell in the yeare of our Lorde one thousand five hundred and foure, the Magnifico Daniel Barbaro first Consull of that place went to visite, and caused it to be renued and reedified, so that in these dayes there resort thither many Christians, who oftentimes bring with them a Priest, to say masse there. Also about an Harquebuz-shotte from Matarea is a spire of great height like to that at Rome, and more beautifull to beholde. Neere unto the olde Cairo are yet twelve store-houses of great antiquitie, but now very much decayed, and these till late dayes served to keepe corne for behoofe of the kingdome, concerning which many are of opinion, that the founder hereof was Joseph the sonne of Jacob, for consideration of the seven deare yeeres. Also passing higher up by the banke of Nilus, there is to bee seene a fayre Citie overflowed with water, the which at such time as Nilus floweth lyeth under water, but when the water returneth to the marke, there plainly appeare princely palaces, and stately pillars, being of some called Thebes, where they say that Pharaos was resident. Moreover three dayes journey higher up are two great images of speckled marble, all whole, and somewhat sunke into the earth, being things wonderfull to consider of, for the nose of either is two spannes and an halfe long, and the space from one eare to the other containeth tenne spannes, the bodies being correspondent to their heads, and graven in excellent proportion, so that they are shapes of marvelous hugeness, and these they call The wife, and The daughter of Pharaos.

#### Of the patriarke of Greece.

IN Cairo are two Patriarkes, one of the Greekes, and another of the Jacobites. The Greeke Patriarke called Gioechni, being about the age of one hundred and thirteene yeeres, was a very good and holy man. They say, that when Soldan Gauri of Egypt reigned, there was done this miracle following: this good patriarke being envied at by the Jewes of the countrey, for none other cause, but for his good workes, and holy life, it happened (I say) that being in disputation with certaine of the

Hebrewes in presence of the Sultan, and reasoning of their lawe and faith, it was sayd unto him by one of these Miscreants: sith thou beleevest in the faith of Christ, take and drinke this potion which I will give thee; and if thy Christ be true Messias and true God, he will (sayd he) deliver thee from daunger. To whom the auncient patriarke answered, that he was content: whereupon that cursed Jewe brought him a cuppe of the most venomous and deadly poyson that could be found, which the holy Patriarke having perceived, said: In the name of the father, of the sonne, and of the holy Ghost: and having so sayde he dranke it quite up; which done, he tooke a droppe of pure water, putting it into that very cup, and gave it unto the Jewe, saying unto him, I in the name of my Christ have drunke thy poyson, and therefore in the name of thy expected Messias, drinke this water of mine within thine owne cuppe. Whereupon the Jewe tooke the cup out of the hand of the Patriarke, and having drunke the water, within halfe an houre burst a sunder. And the Patriarke had none other hurt, save that he became somewhat pale in sight, and so remained ever after. And this miracle (which meriteth to be called no lesse) was done to the great commendation of the holy Patriarke in the presence of a thousand persons, and namely of the Soldan of Egypt: who seeing the despight of the Jewes, unto their owne cost and confusion compelled them to make the conduct, which with so many engines commeth into the castle from Nilus above mentioned. And this triumphant Patriarke not long since was alive, and in perfect health, which God continue long time.

Of the preparation of the Carovan to goe to Mecca.

As touching the Carovan which goeth to Mecca, it is to be understoode, that the Mahumetans observe a kinde of lent continuing one whole moone, and being a moveable ceremonie, which sometimes falleth high, sometimes lowe in the yeere called in their tongue Ramazan, and their feast is called Bairam. During this time of lent all they which intende to goe unto Mecca resort unto Cairo, because that twentie dayes after the feast the Carovan is readie to depart on the voyage: and thither resort a great multitude of people from Asia, Grecia, and Barbaria to goe on this voyage, some mooved by devotion, and

some for traffiques sake, and some to passe away the time. Nowe within fewe dayes after the feast they which goe on the voyage depart out of the citie two leagues unto a place called Birca, where they expect the Captaine of the Carovan. This place hath a great pond caused by the inundation of Nilus, and so made, that the camels and other beastes may drinke therein: whereof, namely, of Mules, Camels, and Dromedaries there are at least fortie thousand, and the persons which followe the Carovan everie yeere are about fiftie thousand, fewe more or lesse, according to the times. Moreover every three yeeres they renue the Captaine of the Carovan, called in the Arabian tongue Amarilla Haggi, that is, the Captaine of the Pilgrimes, to whom the Grand Signior giveth every voiage eightene purses, conteyning each of them sixe hundred twentie and five ducates of golde, and these be for the behoofe of the Carovan, and also to doe almes unto the needfull pilgrimes. This Captaine, besides other servingmen which follow him, hath also foure Chausi to serve him. Likewise he hath with him for the securitie of the Carovan foure hundred souldiers, to wit, two hundred Spachi or horsemen mounted on Dromedaries, and two hundred Janizaries riding upon Camels. The Chausi and the Spachi are at the charge of the Captaine, but the Janizaries not so, for their provision is made them from Cairo. The Spachi weare caps or bonnets like to the caps of Sergeants, but the Janizaries after another sort, with a lappe falling downe behinde like a French-hoode, and having before a great piece of wrought silver on their heads. The charge of these is to cause the Carovan to march in good array when neede requireth; these are not at the commaundement of any but of the Captaine of the Carovan. Moreover the Captaine hath for his guide eight pilots, the office of whom is alwayes stable and firme from heire to heire, and these goe before guiding the Carovan, and shewing the way, as being well experienced in the place, and in the night they governe them as the mariners, by the starre. These also use to sende before foure or five men carrying pieces of dry wood which give light, because they should not goe out of the way, and if at any time through their ill hap they wander astray out of the way, they are cast downe and beaten with so many bastonadoes upon the soles of their feete, as serve them for a perpetuall remembrance. The



Captaine of the Carovan hath his Lieutenant accompanied continually with fiftene Spachi, and he hath the charge to set the Carovan in order, and to cause them to depart on their journey when neede requireth: and during the voyage their office is some whiles to goe before with the forewarde, sometimes to come behinde with the rereward, sometimes to march on the one side, and sometimes on the other, to spy, that the coast be cleare. The Carovan carrieth with it sixe pieces of ordinance drawn by 12 camels, which serve to terrifie the Arabians, as also to make triumph at Mecca, and other places. The marchants which followe the Carovan, some carry for marchandise cloth of silke, some Corall, some tinne, others wheat, rise, and all sorts of graine. Some sell by the way, some at Mecca, so that every one bringeth something to gaine by, because all marchandise that goeth by land payeth no custome, but that which goeth by sea is bound to pay tenne in the hundred.

#### The beginning of the voyage.

THE feast before the Carovan setteth forth, the Captaine with all his retinue and officers resort unto the castle of Cairo before the Basha, which giveth unto every man a garment, and that of the Captaine is wrought with golde, and the others are served according to their degree. Moreover he delivereth unto him ye Chisva Talnabi, which signifieth in the Arabian tongue, The garment of the Prophet: this vesture is of silke, wrought in the midst with letters of gold, which signifie: La illa ill' alla Mahumet Resullala: that is to say, There are no gods but God, and his ambassadour Mahumet. This garment is made of purpose to cover from top to botome a litle house in Mecca standing in the midst of the Mesquita, the which house (they say) was builded by Abraham or by his sonne Ismael. After this he delivereth to him a gate made of purpose for the foresaid house of Abraham wrought all with fine golde, and being of excellent workmanship, and it is a thing of great value. Besides, he delivereth unto him a covering of greene velvet made in maner of a pyramis, about nine palmes high, and artificially wrought with most fine golde, and this is to cover the tombe of their prophet within Medina, which tombe is built in manner of a pyramis: and besides that covering there are brought many others of golde and silke, for

the ornament of the sayde tombe. Which things being consigned, the Basha departeth not from his place; but the Captaine of the Carovan taketh his leave with all his officers and souldiers, and departeth accompanied with all the people of Cairo orderly in manner of a procession, with singing, shouting and a thousand other ceremonies too long to recite. From the castle they goe to a gate of the citie called Bab-Nassera, without the which standes a Mosquita, and therein they lay up the sayd vestures very well kept and guarded. And of this ceremony they make so great account, that the world commeth to see this sight, yea the women great with childe, and others with children in their armes, neither is it lawfull for any man to forbid his wife the going to this feast, for that in so doing the wife may separate her selfe from her husband, and may lie with any other man, in regard of so great a trespasse. Now this procession proceeding from the castle towards the Mosquita, the Camels which bring the vestures are all adorned with cloth of golde, with many little belles, and passing along the streete you may see the multitude casting upon the said vestures thousands of beautifull flowers of divers colours, & sweete water, others bringing towels & fine cloth touch the same, which ever after they keepe as reliques with great reverence. Afterward having left the vesture in the Mosquita, as is aforesaid, they returne againe into the citie, where they remaine the space of 20 dayes, and then the captaine departeth with his company, and taking the vestures out of the Mosquita, carieth the same to the foresaid place of Birca, where the Captaine having pitched his tent with the standard of the grand Signior over the gate, & the other principall tents standing about his, stayeth there some tenne dayes and no more: in which time all those resort thither that meane to follow the Carovan in this voyage to Mecca. Where you shall see certaine women which intend to goe on this voiage accompanied with their parents and friends mounted upon Camels, adorned with so many tryfles, tassels, and knots, that in beholding the same a man cannot refraine from laughter. The last night before their departure they make great feasting and triumph within the Carovan, with castles and other infinite devises of fireworke, the Janizaries alwayes standing round about the tent of the Captaine with such shouting and joy, that on every side the earth resoundeth,

and this night they discharge all their ordinance, foure or sixe times, and after at the breake of the day upon the sound of a trumpet they march forward on their way.

What times the Carovan travelleth, and when it resteth.

It is to be noted, that from Cairo to Mecca they make 40 dayes journey or thereabout, & the same great dayes journeies. For the custome of the Carovan is to travell much and rest little, and ordinarily they journey in this maner: They travell from two a clocke in the morning untill the sunne rising, then having rested till noone, they set forward, and so continue till night, & then also rest againe, as is abovesaid, till two of the clocke: and this order they observe untill the end of the voiage, never changing the same, except in some places, whereof we will hereafter speake, where for respect of water they rest sometimes a day and an halfe, and this they observe to refresh themselves, otherwise both man and beast would die.

In what order the Carovan travelleth.

THE maner and order which the Carovan observeth in marching is this. It goeth divided into three parts, to wit, the foreward, the maine battell, and the rereward. In the foreward go the 8 Pilots before with a Chaus, which hath foure knaves, & ech knave carrieth a sinew of a bul, to the end that if occasion requireth, ye bastonado may be given to such as deserve the same. These knaves cast offendours downe, turning up the soles of their feete made fast to a staffe, giving them a perpetuall remembrance for them & the beholders. This Chaus is as the Captaine of the foreward, which commandeth lights to be carried before when they travell in the night. Also there go in this foreward 6 Santones with red turbants upon their heads, & these eat and ride at the cost of the Captaine of the Carovan. These Santones when the Carovan arriveth at any good lodging, suddenly after they have escried the place, cry with an horrible voyce saying, good cheare, good cheare, we are neere to the wished lodging. For which good newes the chiefe of the company bestow their benevolence upon them. In this foreward goeth

very neere the third part of the people of the Carovan, behind whom go alwayes 25 Spachi armed with swords, bowes & arrowes to defend them from thieves. Next unto the foreward, within a quarter of a mile, followeth the maine battell, and before the same are drawen the sayd sixe pieces of ordinance, with their gunners, and fiftene Spachi Archers. And next unto these commeth the chiefe physicion, who is an olde man of authoritie, having with him many medicines, oyntments, salves, and other like refreshings for the sicke, having also camels with him for the sicke to ride on, which have no horse nor beast. Next unto him goeth one Camell alone, the fairest that can be found: for with great industrie is sought the greatest and fairest which may be found within the dominions of the Grand Signior. This camell also is decked with cloth of golde and silke, and carieth a litle chest made of pure Legmame made in likenesse of the arke of the olde Testament: but, as is abovesayd, made of pure Legmame, without golde or any other thing of cost. Within this chest is the Alcoran all written with great letters of golde, bound betweene two tables of massie golde, and the chest during their voyage is covered with Silke, but at their entring into Mecca it is all covered with cloth of golde, adorned with jewels, and the like at the enterance into Medina. The Camell aforesayd which carrieth the chest, is compassed about with many Arabian singers and musicians, alwayes singing and playing upon instruments. After this folow fiftene other most faire Camels, every one carying one of the abovesayd vestures, being covered from toppe to toe with silke. Behind these goe twentie other Camels which carrie the money, apparell, and provision of the Amir el Cheggi capitaine of the Carovan. After foloweth the royall Standard of the grand Signior, accompanied continually with the musicians of the capitaine, and five and twentie Spachi archers, with a Chaus before them, and about these marvellous things goe all the people and Camels which follow the Carovan. Behind these, lesse then a mile, foloweth the rereward, whereof the greater part are pilgrimes: the occasion whereof is, for that the merchants seeke alwayes to be in the foreward for the securitie of their goods, but the pilgrimes which have litle to loose care not though they come behind. Behind these alwayes goe five and twentie other Spachi well armed

with another Chaus their captaine, and fortie Arabians all Archers for guard of the rereward. And because the Carovan goeth alwayes along the red sea banke, which in going forth they have on their right hand, therefore the two hundred Janissaries parted into three companies goe upon their left hand well armed and mounted upon Camels bound one to another, for upon that side is all the danger of thieves, and on the other no danger at all, the captaine of the Carovan alwayes going about his people, sometimes on the one side, and sometimes on the other, never keeping any firme place, being continually accompanied with a Chaus and 25. Spachi, armed and mounted upon Dromedaries, and 8. musicians with violes in their handes, which cease not sounding till the captaine take his rest, upon whom they attend, till such time as he entreth his pavillion, and then licencing all his attendants and folowers to depart, they goe each man to their lodging.

Of things notable which are seene in this voyage by  
the way.

BECAUSE in the way there are not many things found woorthie memorie, for that the Carovan seldome resteth in places of habitation, of which in the way there are but fewe, yea rather the Carovan resteth altogether in the field: therefore in this our voyage wee will onely make mention of certaine Castles found in the way, which bee these, namely, Agerut, Nachel, Acba, Biritem, Muel, and Ezlem. Of which five, the two first are kept of Moores, and the other three of Turkes, and for guard they have eight men or tenne at the most in every Castle, with foure or five Smerigli, which serve to keepe the water from the Arabians, so that the Carovan comming thither, may have wherewithall to refresh it selfe. Agerut is distant from Suez a port of the red Sea eight miles, where are alwayes resident five and twentie gallies of the Grand Signior for the keeping of that Sea. Nachel is distant from the Sea a dayes journey. The walles of Acba are founded upon the red Sea banke. Biritem and Muel likewise are dashed by the waves of the Sea. Ezlem is distant from thence above a dayes journey. These five Castles abovesayd are not of force altogether to defend themselves agaynst an hundred men. The Carovan departing from Birca untill Agerut findeth no



water by the way to drinke, neither from Agerut till Nachel, nor from Nachel till Acba, but betweene Acba and Biritem are found two waters, one called Agium el Cassap, and the other Magaraxiaibi, that is to say, the river of Jethro the father in lawe of Moses, for this is the place mentioned in the second chapter of Exodus, whither it is sayd that Moses fledde from the anger of Pharao, who would have killed him, because hee had slaine the Ægyptian, which fought with the Hebrew, in which place stoode the citie of Midian; and there are yet the pondes, neere unto the which Moses sate downe. And from that place forward they finde more store of water by the way, and in more places, though not so good. It is also to bee noted, that in this voiage it is needfull and an usuall thing, that the captaine put his hand to his purse, in these places, and bestow presents, garments, and turbants upon certaine of the chiefe of the Arabians, to the ende they may give him and his Carovan free passage: who also promise, that their followers likewise shall doe no damage to the Carovan, and bind themselves to accomplish the same, promising also by worde of mouth, that if the Carovan bee robbed, they will make restitution of such things as are stollen: but notwithstanding the Carovan is by them oftentimes damnified, and those which are robbed have no other restitution at the Arabians handes then the shewing of them a paire of heeles, flying into such places as it is impossible to finde them. Nowe the Carovan continuing her accustomed journeys, and having passed the abovesayd castles, and others not woorthie mention, at length commeth to a place called Jehbir, which is the beginning and confine of the state and realme of Serifo the king of Mecca: where, at their approaching issueth out to meete them the governour of the land, with all his people to receive the Carovan, with such shouting and triumph, as is impossible to expresse, where they staie one whole day. This place aboundeth with fresh and cleare waters, which with streames fall downe from the high mountaines. Moreover, in this place are great store of dates, and flesh great store and good cheape, and especially laced muttons which willingly fall downe, and here the wearie pilgrimes have commoditie to refresh themselves, saying, that this wicked fact purgeth them from a multitude of sinnes, and besides increaseth devotion to prosecute the voiage. Touching

the building in these places, it is to bee judged by the houses halfe ruinated, that it hath bene a magnificent citie: but because it was in times past inhabited more with thieves then true men, it was therefore altogether destroyed by Soldan Gauri king of Ægypt, who going on pilgrimage unto Mecca, and passing by this place, there was by the inhabitants hereof some injurie done unto his Carovan, which hee understanding of, dissembled till his returned from Mecca, and then caused it to bee burned and destroyed in pitifull sort for revenge of the injurie done unto the Carovan. The Carovan having rested and being refreshed as is abovesayd, the next day departeth on the way, and the first place they arrive at woorthy mention is called Bedrihonem, in which place (as is afore-sayd) grow those little shrubbes whereout Balme issueth. And before the Carovan arriveth at this place, a mile from the citie is a large and great field environed about with most high and huge mountaines. And in this field, according to the Alcoran, their prophet Mahomet had a most fierce and cruell battell given by the Christians of the countrey and other people which set themselves agaynst them, and withstood his opinion, so that hee was overcome and vanquished of the Christians, and almost halfe of his people slaine in the battell. Whereupon, the prophet seeing himselfe in such extremitie, fell to his prayers, and they say, that God having compassion upon his deare friend and prophet, heard him, and sent him infinite thousands of angels, wherewith returning to the battell, they conquered and overcame the conquerour. And therefore in memorie of this victorie, the Carovan lodgeth every yeere one night in this place, making great bonfires with great mirth. And they say that as yet there is heard upon the mountaines a litle drumme, which while the Carovan passeth, never ceaseth sounding. And they say further, that the sayd drumme is sounded by the angels in signe of that great victory graunted of God to their prophet. Also the Mahumetan writings affirme, that after the ende of the sayd battell, the prophet commaunded certaine of his people to goe and burie all the Mahumetans which were dead in the fields, who going, knew not the one from the other, because as yet they used not circumcision, so they returned unto him, answering, that they had bene to doe his commaundement, but they knew not the Musulmans from the Christians. To whom

the prophet answered, saying: Turne againe, and all those which you shall finde with their faces downeward, leave them, because all they are misbeleevers; and the other which you shall finde with their faces turned upward, them burie, for they are the true Musulmani, and so his commaundement was done.

The next morning by Sunne rising, the Carovan arriveth at Bedrihonem, in which place every man washeth himselfe from toppe to toe, as well men as women, and leaving off their apparell, having each one a cloth about their privities, called in their tongue Photah, and another white one upon their shoulders, all which can goe to Mecca in this habite, do so, and are thought to merite more then the other, but they which cannot doe so made a vowe to sacrifice a Ramme at the mountaine of pardons: and after they bee washed, it is not lawfull for any man or woman to kill either flea or lowse with their handes, neither yet to take them with their nailes, untill they have accomplished their vowed orations in the mountaine of pardons abovesayd: and therefore they cary with them certaine stickes made of purpose in maner of a File, called in their language Arca, Cassah Guch, with which they grate their shoulders. And so the Carovan marching, commeth within two miles of Mecca where they rest that night. In the morning at the breake of day, with all pompe possible they set forward toward Mecca, and drawing neere thereunto, the Seripho issueth forth of the citie with his guard, accompanied with an infinite number of people, shouting, and making great triumph. And being come out of the citie a boweshoote into a faire field, where a great multitude of tents are pitched, and in the midst the pavillion of the captaine, who meeting with the Serifo, after salutations on each side, they light from their horses and enter into the pavillion, where the king of Mecca depriveth himselfe of all authoritie and power, and committeth the same to the above-named captaine, giving him full licence and authoritie to commaund, governe, and minister justice during his aboad in Mecca with his company, and on the other side the captaine to requite this liberalitie used toward him by the Serifo giveth him a garment of cloth of gold of great value, with certaine jewels and other like things. After this, sitting downe together upon carpets and hides they eate together, and rising from thence with

certaine of the chieftest, and taking with them the garment and gate abovesayd, they goe directly to the Mosquita, attended on but with a few, and being entered, they cause the olde to be pulled downe, and put the newe coverture upon the house of Abraham, and the olde vesture is the eunuchs which serve in the sayde Mosquita, who after sell it unto the pilgrimes at foure or five serafines the pike: and happy doth that man thinke himselfe, which can get never so litle a piece thereof, to conserve ever after as a most holy relique: and they say, that putting the same under the head of a man at the houre of his death, through vertue thereof all his sinnes are forgiven. Also they take away the old doore, setting in the place the new doore, and the old by custome they give unto the Serifo. After having made their praiers with certaine ordinarie and woonted ceremonies, the Serifo remaineth in the citie, and the captaine of the pilgrimage returneth unto his pavillion.

#### Of the Serifo the king of Mecca.

THE Serifo is descended of the prophet Mahomet by Fatma daughter of that good prophet, and Alli husband to her, and sonne in lawe to Mahomet, who had no issue male, save this stocke of the Serifo, to the eldest sonne whereof the realme commeth by succession. This realme hath of revenues royall, every yeere halfe a million of golde, or litle more: and all such as are of the prophets kinred, or descended of that blood (which are almost innumerable) are called Emyri, that is to say, lordes. These all goe clothed in greene, or at the least have their turbant greene, to bee knowne from the other. Neither is it permitted that any of those Christians which dwell or traffique in their Countrey goe clothed in greene, neither may they have any thing of greene about them: for they say it is not lawfull for misbeleivers to weare that colour, wherein that great friend and prophet of God Mahomet was woont to be apparelled.

#### Of the citie of Mecca.

THE Citie of Mecca in the Arabian tongue is called Macca, that is to say, an habitation. This citie is invironed about with exceeding high and barren mountaines, and in the plaine betweene the sayde mountaines



The Pilgrimage to MECCA





and the citie are many pleasaunt gardens, where groweth great abundaunce of figges, grapes, apples, and melons. There is also great abundance of good water and fleshe, but not of bread. This citie hath no walles about it, and containeth in circuite five miles. The houses are very handsome and commodious, and are built like to the houses in Italie. The palace of the Serifo is sumptuous and gorgeously adorned. The women of the place are courteous, jocund, and lovely, faire, with alluring eyes, being hote and libidinous, and the most of them naughtie packes. The men of this place are given to that abhominable, cursed, and opprobrious vice, whereof both men and women make but small account by reason of the pond Zun Zun, wherein having washed themselves, their opinion is, that although like the dog they returne to their vomite, yet they are clesed from all sinne whatsoever, of which sin we will hereafter more largely discourse. In the midst of the city is ye great Mosquita, with the house of Abraham standing in the very midst thereof, which Mosquita was built in the time when their prophet lived. It is foure square, and so great, that it containeth two miles in circuit, that is to say, halfe a mile each side. Also it is made in maner of a cloister, for that in the midst thereof separate from the rest, is the abovesayd house of Abraham, also the galleries round about are in maner of 4. streetes, and the partitions which divide the one street from the other are pillars, whereof some are of marble, and others of lime and stone. This famous and sumptuous Mosquita hath 99. gates, and 5. steeples, from whence the Talismani call the people to the Mosquita. And the pilgrimes which are not provided of tents, resort hither, and for more devotion the men and women lie together aloft and beneath, one upon another, so that their house of praier becommeth worse sometimes then a den of thieves.

#### Of the house of Abraham.

THE house of Abraham is also foure square, and made of speckled stone, 20. paces high, and 40 in circuit. And upon one side of this house within the wall, there is a stone of a span long, and halfe a span broad, which stone (as they say) before this house was builded, fell downe from heaven, at the fall whereof was heard a voyce, that wheresoever this stone fell, there should be

built the house of God, wherein God will heare sinners. Moreover, they say that when this stone fell from heaven, it was not blacke as now, but as white as the whitest snow, and by reason it hath bene so oft kissed by sinners, it is therewith become blacke: for all the pilgrimes are bound to kisse this stone, otherwise they cary their sinnes home with them again. The entrance into this house is very small, made in maner of a window, and as high from the ground as a man can reach, so that it is painful to enter. This house hath without 31. pillars of brasse, set upon cubike or square stones being red and greene, the which pillars sustaine not ought els save a threed of copper, which reacheth from one to another, whereunto are fastened many burning lampes. These pillars of brasse were caused to be made by Sultan Soliman grandfather to Sultan Amurath now Emperor. After this, having entred with the difficultie abovesayd, there stand at the entrance two pillars of marble, to wit, on each side one. In the midst there are three of Aloes-wood not very thicke, and covered with tiles of India of 1000. colours which serve to underproppe the Terratza. It is so darke, that they can hardly see within for want of light, not without an evill smell. Without the gate five pases is the abovesayd pond Zun Zun, which is that blessed pond that the angell of the lord shewed unto Agar whiles she went seeking water for her sonne Ismael to drinke.

#### Of the ceremonies of the pilgrimes.

IN the beginning we have sayd how the Mahumetans have two feasts in the yeere. The one they call Pascha di Ramazaco, that is to say, The feast of fasting, and this feast of fasting is holden thirtie dayes after the feast, wherein the Carovan travelleth to Mecca. The other is called the feast of the Ramme, wherein all they which are of abilitie are bound to sacrifice a Ramme, and this they call Bine Bairam, that is to say, The great feast. And as the Carovan departeth from Cairo thirtie dayes after the little feast, so likewise they come hither five or sixe dayes before the great feast, to the ende the pilgrimes may have time before the feast to finish their rites and ceremonies, which are these. Departing from the Carovan, and being guided by such as are experienced in the way, they goe unto the citie twentie or thirtie in a com-

pany as they thinke good, walking through a streete which ascendeth by litle and litle till they come unto a certaine gate, whereupon is written on each side in marble stone, Babel Salema, which in the Arabian tongue signifieth, the gate of health. And from this place is descried the great Mosquita, which environeth the house of Abraham, which being descried, they reverently salute twise, saying, Salem Alech Jara sul Alla, that is to say, Peace to thee, ambassadour of God. This salutation being ended, proceeding on the way, they finde an arche upon their right hand, whereon they ascend five steps, upon the which is a great voyd place made of stone: after, descending other five steps, and proceeding the space of a flight-shoot, they finde another arche like unto the first, and this way from the one arche to the other they go and come 7. times, saying alwaies some of their prayers, which (they say) the afflicted Agar sayd, whiles she sought and found not water for her sonne Ismael to drinke. This ceremonie being ended, the pilgrimes enter into the Mosquita, and drawing neere unto the house of Abraham, they goe round about it other seven times, alwayes saying: This is the house of God, and of his servant Abraham; This done, they goe to kisse that blacke stone abovesayd. After they go unto the pond Zun Zun, and in their apparell as they be, they wash themselves from head to foote, saying, Tobah Allah, Tobah Allah, that is to say, Pardon lord, Pardon lord, drinking also of that water, which is both muddie, filthie, and of an ill savour, and in this wise washed and watered, every one returneth to his place of abode, and these ceremonies every one is bound to doe once at the least. But those which have a mind to overgoe their fellowes, and to go into paradise before the rest, doe the same once a day while the Carovan remaineth there.

What the Carovan doeth after having rested at Mecca.

THE Carovan having abode within the citie of Mecca five dayes, the night before the evening of their feast, the captaine with all his company setteth forward towards the mountaine of pardons, which they call in the Arabian tongue, Jabel Arafata. This mountaine is distant from Mecca 15. miles, and in the mid way thereto is a place called Mina, that is to say, The haven, and a litle from thence are 4. great pillars, of which hereafter we will

speake. Now first touching the mountaine of Pardons, which is rather to be called a litle hill, then a mountain, for that it is low, litle, delightful and pleasant, containing in circuit two miles, and environed round about with the goodliest plaine that ever with mans eie could be seen, and the plaine likewise compassed with exceeding high mountains, in such sort, that this is one of the goodliest situations in the world: and it seemeth verily, that nature hath therein shewed all her cunning, in making this place under the mountaine of pardons so broad and pleasant. Upon the side towards Mecca there are many pipes of water cleare, faire, and fresh, and above all most wholesome, falling down into certaine vessels made of purpose, where the people refresh and wash themselves, and water their cattel. And when Adam and Evah were cast out of paradise by the angel of the Lord, the Mahumetans say, they came to inhabite this litle mountaine of pardons. Also they say, that they had lost one another, and were seperated for the space of 40. yeeres, and in the end met at this place with great joy & gladnesse, and builded a litle house upon the top of this mountaine, the which at this day they call Beyt Adam, that is to say, the house of Adam.

#### Of the three Carovans.

THE same day that the Carovan of Cairo commeth to this place, hither come 2. Carovans also, one of Damasco, the other of Arabia, and in like maner all the inhabitants for ten dayes journey round about, so that at one time there is to be seen above 200000. persons, and more then 300000. cattell. Now all this company meeting together in this place the night before the feast, the three hostes cast themselves into a triangle, setting the mountaine in the midst of them: and all that night there is nothing to be heard nor seene, but gunshot and fireworkes of sundry sortes, with such singing, sounding, shouting, halowing, rumors, feasting, and triumphing, as is wonderfull. After this, the day of the feast being come, they are all at rest and silence, and that day they attend on no other thing, then to sacrifice oblations and prayers unto God, and in the evening all they which have horses mount thereon, and approch as nigh unto the mountaine as they can, and those which have no horses make the best shift they can on foote, giving ever unto the captaine



of Cairo the chiefe place, the second to the captaine of Damasco, and the third to the captaine of Arabia, & being all approached as is abovesayd, there commeth a square squire, one of the Santones, mounted on a camell well furnished, who at the other side of the mountain ascendeth five steps into a pulpit made for that purpose, and all being silent, turning his face towards the people, he maketh a short sermon of the tenour folowing.

The summe of the Santones sermon.

THE summe of this double doctors sermon is thus much in briefe. He sheweth them how many and how great benefits God hath given to the Mahumetan people by the hand of his beloved friend and prophet Mahomet, having delivered them from the servitude of sinne & from idolatry, in which before time they were drowned, and how he gave unto them the house of Abraham wherein they should be heard, and likewise the mountaine of pardons, by meanes whereof they might obtaine grace and remission of their sinnes: adding, that the mercifull God, who is a liberall giver of all good things, commaunded his secretarie Abraham to build him an house in Mecca, where his successours might make their prayers unto him and bee heard, at which time all the mountains in the world came together thither with sufficiencie of stones for building hereof, except that litle and low hill, which for povertie could not go to discharge this debt, for the which it became sorrowfull, weeping beyond all measure for the space of thirtie yeeres, at the ende whereof the eternall God having pitie and compassion upon this poore Mountaine, saide unto it: Weepe no more (my daughter) for thy bitter complaints have ascended up into mine eares, therefore comfort thy selfe: for I will cause all those that shall goe to visite the house of my friend Abraham, that they shall not be absolved from their sinnes, unlesse they first come to doe thee reverence, and to keepe in this place their holiest feast. And this I have commanded unto my people by the mouth of my friend and prophet Mahumet. This said, he exhorteth them unto the love of God, and to prayer and almes. The sermon being done at the Sunne-setting they make 3. prayers, namely, the first for the Serifo, the second for the Grand Signior with his hoste, and the third for all the people: to which prayers all with one voyce cry saying; Amni Ja Alla,

Amni Ja Alla, that is to say, Be it so Lord, be it so Lord. Thus having had the Santones blessing and saluted the Mountaine of pardons, they returne the way they came unto Mina, whereof wee have made mention. In returning at the end of the plaine are the abovesaid 4. pillers, to wit, two on ech side of the way, through the midst whereof they say it is needfull that every one passe, saying, that who so passeth without looseth all that merit which in his pilgrimage he had gotten. Also from the mountaine of pardons until they be passed the said pillers none dare looke backward, for feare least the sinnes which he hath left in the mountains returne to him againe. Being past these pillers every one lighteth downe, seeking in this sandy field 50. or 60. litle stones, which being gathered, and bound in an handkerchiffe they carry to the abovesaid place of Mina, where they stay 5. dayes, because at that time there is a faire free and franke of al custome. And in this place are other 3. pillers, not together, but set in divers places, where (as their prophet saith) were the three apparitions which the diuel made unto Abraham, and to Ismael his sonne; for amongst them they make no mention of Isaac, as if he had never bene borne. So they say, that the blessed God having commanded Abraham his faithfull servant to sacrifice his first begotten Ismael, the old Abraham went to do according to Gods wil, and met with the infernal enemie in the shape of a man, and being of him demanded whither he went, he answered, that he went to sacrifice his sonne Ismael, as God had commanded him. Against whom the diuel exclaiming said: Oh doting old man, sith God in thine old age hath marveilously given thee this son (in whom all nations shalbe blessed) wherefore giving credite unto vaine dreames, wilt thou kill him whom so much thou hast desired, and so intirely loved. But Abraham shaking him off proceeded on his way, whereupon the diuel seeing his words could not prevaile with the father attempted the sonne, saying; Ismael, have regard unto thy selfe betimes in this thing which is so dangerous. Wherefore? answered ye childe. Because (saith the diuel) thy doting father seeketh to take away thy life. For what occasion, said Ismael? Because (saith the enemie) he saith, that God hath commanded him. Which Ismael hearing hee tooke up stones and threw at him, saying, Auzu billahi minal scia itanil ragini,

which is to say, I defend me with God from the diuel the offender, as who would say, wee ought to obey the commandement of God and resist the diuel with al our force. But to returne to our purpose, the pilgrimes during their aboad there goe to visite these three pillers, throwing away the little stones which before they gathered, whiles they repeat the same words which they say, that Ismael said to the diuell, when hee withstoode him. From hence halfe a mile is a mountaine, whither Abraham went to sacrifice his sonne, as is abovesaid. In this mountaine is a great den whither the pilgrims resort to make their prayers, and there is a great stone naturally separated in the midst; and they say, that Ismael, while his father Abraham was busie about the sacrifice, tooke the knife in hand to prooue how it would cut, and making triall divided the stone into two parts. The five dayes being expired, the captaine ariseth with all the Carovan, and returneth againe to Mecca, where they remaine other five dayes. And while these rest, we will treat of the city and port of Grida upon the Red Sea.

#### Of Grida.

THEREFORE wee say that from Mecca to Grida they make two small dayes journey: and because in those places it is ill traueiling in the day-time by reason of the great heat of the Sunne, therefore they depart in the evening from Mecca, and in the morning before Sunne-rising they are arrived halfe way, where there are certaine habitations well furnished, and good Innes to lodge in, but especially women ynough which voluntarily bestowe their almes upon the poore pilgrims: likewise departing the next evening, the morning after, they come unto Grida. This citie is founded upon the Red Sea banke, environed with wals & towers to the land-ward, but through continuance of time almost consumed and wasted: on the side to sea-ward it stands unwallled. Grida hath three gates, one on eche side, and the thirde in the midst towarde the land, which is called, The port of Mecca, neere unto which are 6. or 7. Turks upon the old towers for guard thereof with foure faulcons upon one of the corners of the city to the land-ward. Also to sea-ward where the wall joyneth with the water, there is lately made a fort like unto a bulwarke, where they have planted 25 pieces of the best ordinance that might be had, which are very

well kept and guarded. More outward towards the sea upon the farthest olde tower are other five good pieces with 30 men to guard them. On the other side of the city at the end of the wall there is lately builded a bulwarke strong and well guarded by a Sanjaccho with 150 Turks wel provided with ordinance and all other necessities and munition, and all these fortifyings are for none other cause then for feare and suspition of the Portugals. And if the port were good all this were in vaine: but the port cannot be worse nor more dangerous, being all full of rocks and sands, in such wise, that the ships cannot come neere, but perforce ride at the least two miles off. At this port arrive every yeere forty or fifty great shippes laden with spices and other rich marchandize which yeeld in custome 150000 ducats, the halfe whereof goeth unto the Grand Signior, and the other halfe to the Serifo. And because there is none other thing worthy mention in Grida we wil returne to our Carovan which hath almost rested enough.

#### Of their going to Medina.

THE Carovan departeth for Medina returning the same way they came unto Bedrihonem abovesayd, where they leave their ordinance and other cariages, whereof they have no need, with the pilgrims which have seene Medina aforetime, and desire not to see it againe, but stay in that place, expecting the carovan, and resting untill the carovan go from Bedrihonem to Medina, where they alwayes finde goodly habitations, with abundance of sweet waters, and dates enough, and being within foureteene miles of Medina they come unto a great plaine called by them Jabel el salema, that is to say, the mountaine of health, from which they begin to descry the city and tombe of Mahomet, at which sight they light from their horses in token of reverence. And being ascended up the sayd mountaine with shouting which pierceth the skies they say, Sala tuua salema Alaccha Jarah sul Allah. Sala tuua Salema Alaccha Janabi Allah, Sala tuua Salema Allaccha Jahabit Allah: which words in the Arabian tongue signifie: Prayer and health be unto thee, oh prophet of God: prayer and health be upon thee, oh beloved of God. And having pronounced this salutation, they proceed on their journey, so that they lodge that night within three miles of Medina: and the next morn-

ing the captaine of the pilgrimage ariseth, & proceeding towards the city, and drawing neere, there commeth the governour under the Serifo, accompanied with his people to receive the Carovan, having pitched their tents in the midst of a goodly field where they lodge.

#### Of Medina.

MEDINA is a little city of great antiquity, containing in circuit not above two miles, having therein but one castle, which is olde and weake, guarded by an Aga with fifty pieces of artillery, but not very good. The houses thereof are faire and well situated, built of lime and stone, and in the midst of the city stands a foure-square Mosquita, not so great as that of Mecca, but more goodly, rich, and sumptuous in building. Within the same in a corner thereof is a tombe built upon foure pillers with a vault, as if it were under a pavement, which bindeth all the foure pillers together. The tombe is so high, that it farre exceedeth in heighth the Mosquita, being covered with lead, and the top all inamelled with golde, with an halfe moone upon the top: and within the pavement it is all very artificially wrought with golde. Below there are round about very great staires of yron ascending up untill the midst of the pillers, and in the very midst thereof is buried the body of Mahomet, and not in a chest of yron cleaving to the adamant, as many affirme that know not the trueth thereof. Moreover, over the body they have built a tombe of speckled stone a brace and an halfe high, and over the same another of Legmane fouresquare in maner of a pyramis. After this, round about the sepulture there hangeth a curtaine of silke, which letteth the sight of those without, that they cannot see the sepulture. Beyond this in the same Mosquita are other two sepulchres covered with greene cloth, and in the one of them is buried Fatma the daughter of Mahomet, and Alli is buried in the other, who was the husband of the sayd Fatma. The attendants upon these sepulchres are fifty eunuches white and tawny, neither is it granted to any of them to enter within the tombe, saving to three white eunuches the oldest and best of credit; unto whom it is lawfull to enter but twice in the day, to light the lamps, and to doe other services. All the other eunuchs attend without to the service of the Mosquita, and the other two sepulchres of Fatma, and



Alli, where every one may go and touch at his pleasure, and take of the earth for devotion, as many do.

Of things without the City.

WITHOUT the city and on every side are most faire gardens, with many fountaines of most sweet water, infinite pondes, abundance of fruit, with much honest living, so that this place is very pleasant and delightfull. This city hath three gates, one of which is an hospitall caused to be built by Cassachi, called the Rose, who was wife to Sultan Soliman grandfather to this emperour. The sayd hospitall hath nought els woorthy mention, save that it is fairely built, and hath large revenues belonging thereunto, and nourisheth many poore people. A mile from the city are certaine houses whereof they affirme one to be the same, where Mahumet in his lifetime dwelt. This house hath on every side very many faire date trees, amongst which there are two which grow out of one stocke exceeding high, and these, they say, their Prophet grafted with his owne hand: the fruit thereof is alwayes sent to Constantinople, to be presented unto the Grand Signior, and is sayd to be that blessed fruit of the Prophet. Nere unto the date trees is a faire fountaine of cleere and sweet water, the which by a conduct pipe is brought into the city of Medina. Also there is a little Mosquita, wherein three places are counted holy, and greatly revered: the first they affirme, that their Prophet made his first prayer in, after he knew God: the second is that whither he went when he would see the holy house of Abraham, where when he sate downe to that intent, they say the mountaines opened from the toppe to the bottome to shew him the house, and after closed againe as before: the third holy place is in the midst of the sayd Mosquita, where is a tombe made of lime and stone fouresquare, and full of sand, wherein, they say, was buried that blessed camell which Mahumet was alwayes woont to ride upon. On the other side of the city are other tombes of holy Mahumetans, and every one of them hath a tombe built upon foure pillars, amongst which three were the companions of Mahumet, to wit, Abubacar, Ottoman, and Omar; all which are visited of the pilgrims as holy places.

The offering of the vestures unto the sepulchres.

THE Carovan being come to Medina two houres before day, and resting there till the evening, the captaine then with his company and other pilgrims setteth forward, with the greatest pompe possible: and taking with him the vesture which is made in maner of a pyramis, with many other of golde and silke, departeth, going thorow the midst of the city, untill he come to the Mosquita, where having praied, he presenteth unto the tombe of his prophet (where the eunuchs receiving hands are ready) the vesture for the sayd tombe: and certaine eunuchs entring in take away the old vesture, and lay on the new, burning the olde one, and dividing the golde thereof into equall portions. After this are presented other vestures for the ornament of the Mosquita. Also the people without deliver unto the eunuchs ech man somewhat to touch the tombe therewith, which they keepe as a relique with great devotion. This ceremony being ended, the captaine resteth in Medina two dayes, to the end the pilgrims may finish their devotion and ceremonies: and after they depart to Jambor. A good dayes journey thence is a steepe mountaine, over which is no passage, saving by one narrow path called Demir Capi, which was in times past called the yron gate. Of this gate the Mahumetans say, that Ally the companion and sonne in law of Mahumet, being here pursued by many Christians, and comming unto this mountaine, not seeing any way whereby to flee, drew out his sword, and striking the said mountaine, divided it in sunder, and passing thorow saved his life on the other side. Moreover, this Alli among the Persians is had in greater reverence then Mahumet, who affirme, that the sayd Alli hath done greater things and more miraculous then Mahumet, and therefore they esteeme him for God almighty his fellow. But to returne to our matter, the captaine with the carovan within two dayes after returneth for Cairo, and comming to Ezlem, findeth there a captaine with three-score horses come thither to bring refreshments to the said captaine of the pilgrimage, as also to sell unto the pilgrims some victuals. From thence they set forward, and comming to Birca within two leagues of Cairo, there is the master of the house of the Bassha of Cairo with all his horsemen come thither to receive him, with a

sumptuous and costly banquet made at the cost of the Basha for the captaine and his retinue, who after he is well refreshed departeth toward the castle of Cairo to salute the Basha, who receiving him with great joy and gladnesse in token of good wil presenteth him with a garment of cloth of golde very rich: and the captaine taking the Alcaron out of the chest presenteth it to the Basha, who having kissed it, commandeth to lay it up againe. Some there are which affirme, that being arrived at Cairo, they kill that goodly camell which carried the Alcaron, and eate him; which is nothing so: for they are so superstitious to the contrary, that to gaine all the world they would not kill him. But if by casualty he should die, in this case happy and blessed they thinke themselves, which can get a morsell to eat. And thus much concerning the voyage of the captaine of the carovan of Cairo.

The voyage and travell of M. Cæsar Fredericke, Marchant of Venice, into the East India, and beyond the Indies. Wherein are contained the customes and rites of those countries, the merchandises and commodities, aswell of golde and silver, as spices, drugges, pearles, and other jewels: translated out of Italian by M. Thomas Hickocke.

Cæsar Fredericke to the Reader.

I HAVING (gentle Reader) for the space of eightene yeeres continually coasted and travelled, as it were, all the East Indies, and many other countreys beyond the Indies, wherein I have had both good and ill successe in my travels: and having seene & understood many things woorthy the noting, and to be knownen to all the world, the which were never as yet written of any: I thought it good (seeing the Almighty had given me grace, after so long perils in passing such a long voyage to returne into mine owne countrey, the noble city of Venice) I say, I thought it good, as briefly as I could, to write and set forth this voyage made by me, with the marvellous things I have seene in my travels in the Indies: The mighty Princes that governe those countreys, their religion and faith that they have, the rites and customes which they use, and live by, of the divers successe that happened unto me, and how many of these countreys are abounding

with spices, drugs, and jewels, giving also profitable advertisement to all those that have a desire to make such a voyage. And because that the whole world may more commodiously rejoyce at this my travell, I have caused it to be printed in this order: and now I present it unto you (gentle & loving Readers) to whom for the varieties of things heerein contained, I hope that it shall be with great delight received. And thus God of his goodnesse keepe you.

A voyage to the East Indies, and beyond the Indies, &c.

In the yere of our Lord God 1563, I Cæsar Fredericke being in Venice, and very desirous to see the East parts of the world, shipped my selfe in a shippe called the Gradaige of Venice, with certaine merchandise, governed by M. Jacomo Vatica, which was bound to Cyprus with his ship, with whom I went: and when we were arrived in Cyprus, I left that ship, and went in a lesser to Tripoly in Soria, where I stayed a while. Afterward I tooke my journey to Alepo, and there I acquainted my selfe with marchants of Armenia, and Moores, that were marchants, and consorted to go with them to Ormus, and wee departed from Alepo, and in two dayes journey and a halfe, wee came to a city called Bir.

#### Of the city called Bir.

BIR is a small city very scarce of all maner of victuals, and nere unto the walles of the city runneth the river of Euphrates. In this city the marchants divide themselves into companies, according to their merchandise that they have, and there either they buy or make a boat to carry them and their goods to Babylon downe the river Euphrates, with charge of a master and mariners to conduct the boat in the voyage: these boats are in a maner flat bottomed, yet they be very strong: and for all that they are so strong, they will serve but for one voyage. They are made according to the sholdnesse of the river, because that the river is in many places full of great stones, which greatly hinder and trouble those that goe downe the river. These boats serve but for one voyage downe the river unto a village called Feluchia, because it is impossible to bring them up the river backe againe. At Feluchia the marchants plucke their boats

in pieces, or else sell them for a small price, for that at Bir they cost the marchants forty or fifty chickens a piece, and they sel them at Feluchia for seven or eight chickens a piece, because that when the marchants returne from Babylon backe againe, if they have marchandise or goods that oweth custome, then they make their returne in forty dayes thorow the wildernesse, passing that way with a great deale lesser charges then the other way. And if they have not marchandise that oweth custome, then they goe by the way of Mosul, where it costeth them great charges both the Carovan and company. From Bir where the marchants imbarke themselves to Feluchia over against Babylon, if the river have good store of water, they shall make their voyage in fifteene or eighteene dayes downe the river, and if the water be lowe, and it hath not rained, then it is much trouble, and it will be forty or fifty dayes journey downe, because that when the barks strike on the stones that be in the river, then they must unlade them, which is great trouble, and then lade them againe when they have mended them: therefore it is not necessary, neither doe the marchants go with one boat alone, but with two or three, that if one boat split and be lost with striking on the sholdes, they may have another ready to take in their goods, untill such time as they have mended the broken boat, and if they draw the broken boat on land to mend her, it is hard to defend her in the night from the great multitude of Arabians that will come downe there to robbe you: and in the rivers every night, when you make fast your boat to the bancke-side, you must keepe good watch against the Arabians which are theeves in number like to ants, yet when they come to robbe, they will not kill, but steale & run away. Harquebuzes are very good weapons against them, for that they stand greatly in feare of the shot. And as you passe the river Euphrates from Bir to Feluchia, there are certain places which you must passe by, where you pay custome certaine medines upon a bale, which custome is belonging to the sonne of Aborise king of the Arabians and of the desert, who hath certaine cities and villages on the river Euphrates.

#### Feluchia and Babylon.

FELUCHIA is a village where they that come from Bir doe unbarke themselves and unlade their goods, and it is



distant from Babylon a dayes journey and an halfe by land: Babylon is no great city, but it is very populous, and of great trade of strangers because it is a great thorowfare for Persia, Turkia, and Arabia: and very often times there goe out from thence Carovans into divers countreys: and the city is very copious of victuals, which comme out of Armenia downe the river of Tygris, on certaine Zattares or Raffes made of blowen hides or skinnes called Utrii. This river Tygris doeth wash the walles of the city. These Raffes are bound fast together, and then they lay boards on the aforesayd blowen skinnes, and on the boards they lade the commodities, and so come they to Babylon, where they unlade them, and being unladen, they let out the winde out of the skinnes, and lade them on cammels to make another voyage. This city of Babylon is situate in the kingdome of Persia, but now governed by the Turks. On the other side of the river towards Arabia, over against the city, there is a faire place or towne, and in it a faire Bazarro for marchants, with very many lodgings, where the greatest part of the marchants strangers which come to Babylon do lie with their marchandize. The passing over Tygris from Babylon to this Borough is by a long bridge made of boates chained together with great chaines: provided, that when the river waxeth great with the abundance of raine that falleth, then they open the bridge in the middle, where the one halfe of the bridge falleth to the walles of Babylon, and the other to the brinks of this Borough, on the other side of the river: and as long as the bridge is open, they passe the river in small boats with great danger, because of the smalnesse of the boats, and the overlading of them, that with the fiercenesse of the streame they be overthrowen, or els the streame doth cary them away, so that by this meanes, many people are lost and drowned: this thing by prooffe I have many times seene.

#### Of the tower of Babylon.

THE Tower of Nimrod or Babel is situate on that side of Tygris that Arabia is, and in a very great plaine distant from Babylon seven or eight miles: which tower is ruinated on every side, and with the falling of it there is made a great mountaine: so that it hath no forme at all, yet there is a great part of it standing, which is

compassed and almost covered with the aforesayd fallings: this Tower was builded and made of fouresquare Bricks, which Bricks were made of earth, and dried in the Sunne in maner and forme following: first they layed a lay of Bricks, then a Mat made of Canes, square as the Bricks, and in stead of lime, they daubed it with earth: these Mats of Canes are at this time so strong, that it is a thing woonderfull to beholde, being of such great antiquity: I have gone round about it, and have not found any place where there hath bene any doore or entrance: it may be in my judgement in circuit about a mile, and rather lesse then more.

This Tower in effect is contrary to all other things which are seene afar off, for they seeme small, & the more nere a man commeth to them the bigger they be: but this tower afar off seemeth a very great thing, and the nerer you come to it the lesser. My judgement & reason of this is, that because the Tower is set in a very great plaine, and hath nothing more about to make any shew saving the ruines of it which it hath made round about, and for this respect descrying it a farre off, that piece of the Tower which yet standeth with the mountaine that is made of the substance that hath fallen from it, maketh a greater shew then you shall finde comming neere to it.

#### Babylon and Basora.

FROM Babylon I departed for Basora, shipping my selfe in one of the barks that use to go in the river Tigris from Babylon to Basora, and from Basora to Babylon: which barks are made after the maner of Fusts or Galliot with a Speron and a covered poope: they have no pompe in them because of the great abundance of pitch which they have to pitch them with all: which pitch they have in abundance two dayes journey from Babylon. Nere unto the river Euphrates, there is a city called Heit, nere unto which city there is a great plaine full of pitch, very marvellous to beholde, and a thing almost incredible, that out of a hole in the earth, which continually throweth out pitch into the aire with continuall smoake, this pitch is throwen with such force, that being hot it falleth like as it were sprinckled over all the plaine, in such abundance that the plaine is alwayes full of pitch: the Mores and the Arabians of that place say, that that hole is the

mouth of hell : and in trueth, it is a thing very notable to be marked : and by this pitch the whole people have great benefit to pitch their barks, which barks they call Daneck and Saffin. When the river of Tygris is well replenished with water, you may passe from Babylon to Basora in eight or nine dayes, and sometimes more and sometimes lesse : we were halfe so much more which is 14 or 15 daies, because the waters were low : they may saile day & night, and there are some places in this way where you pay so many medins on a baile : if the waters be lowe, it is 18 dayes journey.

#### Basora.

BASORA is a city of the Arabians, which of olde time was governed by those Arabians called Zizarii, but now it is governed by the great Turke where he keepeth an army to his great charges.

The Arabians called Zizarii have the possession of a great countrey, and cannot be overcome of the Turke, because that the sea hath divided their countrey into an Iland by channels with the ebbing and flowing of the sea, and for that cause the Turke cannot bring an army against them, neither by sea nor by land, and another reason is, the inhabitants of that Iland are very strong and warlike men. A dayes journey before you come to Basora, you shall have a little castle or fort, which is set on that point of the land where the rivers of Euphrates and Tygris meet together, and the castle is called Corna : at this point, the two rivers make a monstrous great river, that runneth into the sea, which is called the gulfe of Persia, which is towards the South : Basora is distant from the sea fifteene miles, and it is a city of great trade of spices and drugges which come from Ormus. Also there is great store of corne, Rice, and Dates, which the countrey doth yeeld. I shipped my selfe in Basora to go for Ormus, and so we sailed thorow the Persian sea six hundred miles, which is the distance from Basora to Ormus, and we sailed in small ships made of boards, bound together with small cords or ropes, and in stead of calking they lay betweene every board certaine straw which they have, and so they sowe board and board together, with the straw betweene, wherethorow there commeth much water, and they are very dangerous. Departing from Basora we passed 200 miles with the sea

on our right hand, along the gulfe, until at length we arrived at an Iland called Carichii, fro whence we sailed to Ormus in sight of the Persian shore on the left side, and on the right side towards Arabia we discovered infinite Ilands.

#### Ormus.

ORMUS is an Iland in circuit five and twenty or thirty miles, and it is the barrenest and most drie Iland in all the world, because that in it there is nothing to be had, but salt water, and wood, all other things necessary for mans life are brought out of Persia twelve miles off, and out of other Ilands neere thereunto adjoyning, in such abundance and quantity, that the city is alwayes replenished with all maner of store: there is standing neere unto the waters side a very faire castell, in the which the captaine of the king of Portugall is alwayes resident with a good band of Portugalles, and before this castell is a very faire prospect: in the city dwell the married men, souldiers and marchants of every nation, amongst whom there are Moores and Gentiles. In this city there is very great trade for all sorts of spices, drugges, silke, cloth of silke, brocardo, and divers other sorts of marchandise come out of Persia: and amongst all other trades of merchandise, the trade of Horses is very great there, which they carry from thence into the Indies. This Iland hath a Moore king of the race of the Persians, who is created and made king by the Captaine of the castle, in the name of the king of Portugall. At the creation of this king I was there, and saw the ceremonies that they use in it, which are as followeth. The olde King being dead, the Captaine of the Portugals chuseth another of the blood royall, and maketh this election in the castle with great ceremonies, and when hee is elected, the Captaine sweareth him to be true and faithfull to the King of Portugall, as his Lord and Governour, and then he giveth him the Scepter regall. After this with great feasting & pompe, and with great company, he is brought into the royall palace in the city. This King keepeth a good traine, and hath sufficient revenues to maintaine himselfe without troubling of any, because the Captaine of the castle doeth mainteine and defend his right, and when that the Captaine and he ride together, he is honoured as a king, yet he cannot ride abroad with his



Drawn by Thomas Derrick from "Civitates  
Orbis Terrarum" by G. Braun and  
F. Hohenbery





traine, without the consent of the Capitaine first had: it behooveth them to doe this, and it is necessary, because of the great trade that is in the city: their proper language is the Persian tongue. There I shipped my selfe to goe for Goa, a city in the Indies, in a shippe that had fourescore horses in her. This is to advertise those Marchants that go from Ormus to Goa to shippe themselves in those shippes that carry horses, because every shippe that carrieth twenty horses or upwards is privileged, that all the marchandise whatsoever they carry shall pay no custome, whereas the shippes that carry no horses are bound to pay eight per cento of all the goods they bring.

### Goa, Diu, and Cambaia.

GOA is the principall city that the Portugals have in the Indies, where is resident the Viceroy with his Court and ministers of the King of Portugall. From Ormus to Goa is nine hundred foure score and ten miles distance, in which passage the first city that you come to in the Indies, is called Diu, and is situate in a little Iland in the kingdome of Cambaia, which is the greatest strength that the Portugals have in all the Indies, yet a small city, but of great trade, because there they lade very many great ships for the straights of Mecca and Ormus with marchandise, and these shippes belong to the Moores and Christians, but the Moores can not trade neither saile into those seas without the licence of the Viceroy of the king of Portugall, otherwise they are taken and made good prises. The marchandise that they lade these ships withall commeth from Cambaietta a port in the kingdome of Cambaia, which they bring from thence in small barks, because there can no great shippes come thither, by reason of the sholdnesse of the water thereabouts, and these sholds are an hundred or fourescore miles about in a straight or gulfe, which they call Macareo, which is as much to say, as a race of a tide, because the waters there run out of that place without measure, so that there is no place like to it, unlesse it be in the kingdome of Pegu, where there is another Macareo, where the waters run out with more force then these doe. The principall city in Cambaia is called Amadavar, it is a dayes journey and an halfe from Cambaietta, it is a very great city and very populous, and

for a city of the Gentiles it is very well made and builded with faire houses and large streets, with a faire place in it with many shippes, and in shew like to Cairo, but not so great: also Cambaietta is situate on the seas side, and is a very faire city. The time that I was there, the city was in great calamity & scarsenesse; so that I have seene the men of the countrey that were Gentiles take their children, their sonnes and their daughters, and have desired the Portugals to buy them, and I have seene them sold for eight or ten larines a piece, which may be of our money x.s. or xiii.s. iiii.d. For all this, if I had not seene it, I could not have beleved that there should be such a trade at Cambaietta as there is: for in the time of every new Moone and every full Moone, the small barks (innumerable) come in and out, for at those times of the Moone the tides and waters are higher then at other times they be. These barkes be laden with all sorts of spices, with silke of China, with Sandols, with Elephants teeth, Velvets of Vercini, great quantity of Pannina, which commeth from Mecca, Chickinos which be pieces of golde woorth seven shillings a piece sterling, with money, and with divers sorts of other marchandize. Also these barks lade out, as it were, an infinite quantity of cloth made of Bumbast of all sorts, as white stamped and painted, with great quantity of Indico, dried ginger & conserved, Myrabolans drie and condite, Boraso in paste, great store of sugar, great quantity of Cotton, abundance of Opium, Assa Fetida, Puchio, with many other sorts of drugges, turbants made in Dui, great stones like to Corneolaes, Granats, Agats, Diaspry, Calcidonii, Hematists, and some kinde of naturall Diamonds. There is in the city of Cambaietta an order, but no man is bound to keepe it, but they that will; but all the Portugall marchants keepe it, the which is this. There are in this city certain Brokers which are Gentiles and of great authority, and have every one of them fifteene or twenty servants, and the Marchants that use that countrey have their Brokers, with which they be served: and they that have not bene there are informed by their friends of the order, and of what broker they shall be served. Now every fifteene dayes (as abovesayd) that the fleet of small shippes entreth into the port, the Brokers come to the water side, and these Marchants assoone as they are come on land, do give the cargason of all their

goods to that Broker that they will have to do their businesse for them, with the marks of all the fardles and packs they have: and the marchant having taken on land all his furniture for his house, because it is needfull that the Marchants that trade to the Indies cary provision of housholde with them, because that in every place where they come they must have a new house, the Broker that hath received his cargason, commandeth his servants to carry the Marchants furniture for his house home, and load it on some cart, and carry it into the city, where the Brokers have divers empty houses meet for the lodging of Marchants, furnished onely with bedstedes, tables, chaires, and empty jarres for water: then the Broker sayth to the Marchant, Goe and repose your selfe, and take your rest in the city. The Broker tarrieth at the water side with the cargason, and causeth all his goods to be discharged out of the ship, and payeth the custome, and causeth it to be brought into the house where the marchant lieth, the Marchant not knowing any thing thereof, neither custome, nor charges. These goods being brought to this passe into the house of the Marchant, the Broker demandeth of the Marchant if he have any desire to sell his goods or merchandise, at the prises that such wares are worth at that present time? And if he hath a desire to sell his goods presently, then at that instant the Broker selleth them away. After this the Broker sayth to the Marchant, you have so much of every sort of merchandise neat and cleare of every charge, and so much ready money. And if the Marchant will imploy his money in other commodities, then the Broker telleth him that such and such commodities will cost so much, put aboard without any maner of charges. The Marchant understanding the effect, maketh his account; and if he thinke to buy or sell at the prices currant, he giveth order to make his merchandise away: and if he hath commodity for 20000 dukets, all shalbe bartred or solde away in fiteene dayes without any care or trouble: and when as the Marchant thinketh that he cannot sell his goods at the prise currant, he may tary as long as he will, but they cannot be solde by any man but by that Broker that hath taken them on land and payed the custome: and perchance tarying sometimes for sale of their commodity, they make good profit, and sometimes losse: but those merchandise that come not

ordinarily every fifteene dayes, in taryng for the sale of them, there is great profit. The barks that lade in Cambaietta go for Diu to ade the ships that go from thence for the streights of Mecca and Ormus, and some go to Chaul and Goa: and these ships be very wel appointed, or els are guarded by the Armada of the Portugals, for that there are many Corsaries or Pyrats which goe coursing alongst that coast, robbing and spoiling: and for feare of these theeves there is no safe sailing in those seas, but with ships very well appointed and armed, or els with the fleet of the Portugals, as is aforesayd. In fine, the kingdome of Cambaia is a place of great trade, and hath much doings and traffique with all men, although hitherto it hath bene in the hands of tyrants, because that at 75 yeeres of age the true king being at the assault of Diu, was there slaine; whose name Sultan Badu. At that time foure or five captaines of the army divided the kingdome amongst themselves, and every one of them shewed in his countrey what tyranny he could: but twelve yeeres ago the great Mogol a Moore king of Agra and Delly, forty dayes journey within the land of Amadavar, because the governour of all the kingdome of Cambaia without any resistance, because he being of great power and force, devising which way to enter the land with his people, there was not any man that would make him any resistance, although they were tyrants and a beastly people, they were soone brought under obedience. During the time I dwelt in Cambaietta I saw very marvellous things: there were an infinite number of artificers that made bracelets called Mannii, or bracelets of elephants teeth, of divers colours, for the women of the Gentiles, which have their armes full decked with them. And in this occupation there are spent every yeere many thousands of crownes: the reason whereof is this, that when there dieth any whatsoever of their kindred, then in signe and token of mourning and sorrow, they breake all their bracelets from their armes, and presently they go and buy new againe, because that they had rather be without their meat then without their bracelets.

Daman. Basan. Tana.

HAVING passed Diu, I came to the second city that the Portugals have, called Daman, situate in the territory of Cambaia, distant from Diu an hundred and twenty



miles: it is no towne of merchandise, save Rice and corne, and hath many villages under it, where in time of peace the Portugals take their pleasure, but in time of warre the enemies have the spoile of them; in such wise that the Portugals have little benefit by them. Next unto Daman you shall have Basan, which is a filthy place in respect of Daman: in this place is Rice, Corne, and Timber to make shippes and gallies. And a small distance beyond Basan is a little Iland called Tana, a place very populous with Portugals, Moores, and Gentiles: these have nothing but Rice, there are many makers of Armesine, and weavers of girdles of wooll and bumbast blacke and redde like to Moocharies.

Of the cities of Chaul, and of the Palmer tree.

BEYOND this Iland you shall finde Chaul in the firme land; and they are two cities, one of the Portugals, and the other of the Moores: that city which the Portugals have is situate lower then the other, and governeth the mouth of the harbour, and is very strongly walled: and as it were a mile and an halfe distant from this is the city of Moores, governed by their king Zamalluco. In the time of warres there cannot any great ships come to the city of the Moores, because the Portugals with their ordinance will sincke them, for that they must perforce passe by the castles of the Portugals: both the cities are ports of the sea, and are great cities, and have unto them great traffique and trade of merchandise, of all sorts of spices, drugges, silke, cloth of silke, Sandols, Marsine, Versine, Porcelane of China, Velvets and Scarlets that come from Portugall, and from Mecca: with many other sortes of merchandise. There come every yeere from Cochin, and from Cananor tenne or fiftene great shippes laden with great Nuts cured, and with Sugar made of the selfe same Nuts called Giagra: the tree whereon these Nuts doe grow is called the Palmer tree: and thorowout all the Indies, and especially from this place to Goa there is great abundance of them, and it is like to the Date tree. In the whole world there is not a tree more profitable and of more goodnesse then this tree is, neither doe men reape so much benefit of any other tree as they do of this, there is not any part of it but serveth for some use, and none of it is woorthy to be burnt. With the timber of this tree they make shippes without the mixture

of any other tree, and with the leaves thereof they make sailes, and with the fruit thereof, which be a kinde of Nuts, they make wine, and of the wine they make Sugar and Placetto, which wine they gather in the spring of the yeere: out of the middle of the tree where continually there goeth or runneth out white liquour like unto water, in that time of the yeere they put a vessell under every tree, and every evening and morning they take it away full, and then distilling it with fire it maketh a very strong liquour: and then they put it into butts, with a quantity of Zibibbo, white or blacke and in short time it is made a perfect wine. After this they make of the Nuts great store of oile: of the tree they make great quantity of boordes and quarters for buildings. Of the barke of this tree they make cables, ropes, and other furniture for shippes, and, as they say, these ropes be better then they that are made of Hempe. They make of the bowes, bedsteds, after the Indies fashion, and Scavasches for merchandise. The leaves they cut very small, and weave them, and so make sailes of them, for all maner of shipping, or els very fine mats. And then the first rinde of the Nut they stampe, and make thereof perfect Ockam to calke shippes, great and small: and of the hard barke thereof they make spoones and other vessels for meat, in such wise that there is no part thereof thrown away or cast to the fire. When these Mats be greene they are full of an excellent sweet water to drinke: and if a man be thirsty, with the liquour of one of the Mats he may satisfie himselfe: and as this Nut ripeneth, the liquor thereof turneth all to kernell. There goeth out of Chaul for Mallaca, for the Indies, for Macao, for Portugall, for the coasts of Melinde, for Ormus, as it were an infinite number and quantity of goods and merchandise that come out of the kingdome of Cambaia, as cloth of bumbast white, painted, printed, great quantity of Indico, Opium, Cotton, Silke of every sort, great store of Boraso in Paste, great store of Fetida, great store of yron, corne, and other merchandise. The Moore king Zamalluco is of great power, as one that at need may command, & hath in his camp, two hundred thousand men of warre, and hath great store of artillery, some of them made in pieces, which for their greatnesse can not bee carried to and fro; yet although they bee made in pieces, they are so commodious that they worke

with them marvellous well, whose shotte is of stone, and there hath bene of that shot sent unto the king of Portugall for the rarenes of the thing. The city where the king Zamalluco hath his being, is within the land of Chaul seven or eight dayes journey, which city is called Abneger. Threescore and tenne miles from Chaul, towards the Indies, is the port of Dabul, an haven of the king Zamalluco: from thence to Goa is an hundred and fifty miles.

## Goa.

GOA is the principall city that the Portugals have in the Indies, wherein the Viceroy with his royall Court is resident, and is in an Iland which may be in circuit five and twenty or thirty miles: and the city with the boroughs is reasonable bigge, and for a citie of the Indies it is reasonable faire, but the Iland is farre more fairer: for it is as it were full of goodly gardens, replenished with divers trees and with the Palmer trees as is aforesayd. This city is of great trafique for all sorts of marchandise which they trade withall in those parts: and the fleet which commeth every yeere from Portugall, which are five or sixe great shippes that come directly for Goa, arrive there ordinarily the sixth or tenth of September, and there they remaine forty or fifty dayes, and from thence they goe to Cochin, where they lade for Portugall, and often times they lade one shippe at Goa and the other at Cochin for Portugall. Cochin is distant from Goa three hundred miles. The city of Goa is situate in the kingdome of Dialcan a king of the Moores, whose chiefe city is up in the countrey eight dayes journey, and is called Bisapor: this king is of great power, for when I was in Goa in the yeere of our Lord 1570, this king came to give assault to Goa, being encamped neere unto it by a river side with an army of two hundred thousand men of warre, and he lay at this siege foureteene moneths: in which time there was peace concluded, and as report went amongst his people, there was great calamity and mortality which bred amongst them in the time of Winter, and also killed very many elephants. Then in the yeere of our Lord 1567, I went from Goa to Bezeneger the chiefe city of the kingdome of Narsinga eight dayes journey from Goa, within the land, in the company of two other merchants which carried with them

three hundred Arabian horses to that king : because the horses of that countrey are of a small stature, and they pay well for the Arabian horses : and it is requisite that the merchants sell them well, for that they stand them in great charges to bring them out of Persia to Ormus, and from Ormus to Goa, where the ship that bringeth twenty horses and upwards payeth no custome, neither ship nor goods whatsoever ; whereas if they bring no horses, they pay 8 per cento of all their goods : and at the going out of Goa the horses pay custome, two and forty pagodies for every horse, which pagody may be of sterling money sixe shillings eight pence, they be pieces of golde of that value. So that the Arabian horses are of great value in those countreys, as 300, 400, 500 duckets a horse, and to 1000 duckets a horse.

#### Bezeneger.

THE city of Bezeneger was sacked in the yeere 1565, by foure kings of the Moores, which were of great power and might : the names of these foure kings were these following, the first was called Dialcan, the second Zama-luc, the third Cotamaluc, and the fourth Viridy : and yet these foure kings were not able to overcome this city and the king of Bezeneger, but by treason. This king of Bezeneger was a Gentile, and had, amongst all other of his captaines, two which were notable, and they were Moores : and these two captaines had either of them in charge threescore and ten or fourescore thousand men. These two captaines being of one religion with the foure kings which were Moores, wrought meanes with them to betray their owne king into their hands. The king of Bezeneger esteemed not the force of the foure kings his enemies, but went out of his city to wage battell with them in the fieldes ; and when the armies were joyned, the battell lasted but a while not the space of foure houres, because the two traitourous captaines, in the chieftest of the fight, with their companies turned their faces against their king, and made such disorder in his army, that as astonied they set themselves to flight. Thirty yeeres was this kingdome governed by three brethren which were tyrants, the which keeping the rightfull king in prison, it was their use every yeere once to shew him to the people, and they at their pleasures ruled as they listed. These brethren were three cap-

taines belonging to the father of the king they kept in prison, which when he died, left his sonne very yong, and then they tooke the government to themselves. The chiefest of these three was called Ramaragio, and sate in the royall throne, and was called the king: the second was called Temiragio, and he tooke the government on him: the third was called Bengatre, and he was capitaine generall of the army. These three brethren were in this battell, in the which the chiefest and the last were never heard of quicke nor dead. Onely Temiragio fled in the battel, having lost one of his eyes: when the newes came to the city of the overthrow in the battell, the wives and children of these three tyrants, with their lawfull king (kept prisoner) fled away, spoiled as they were, & the foure kings of the Moores entred the city Bezeneger with great triumph, & there they remained sixe moneths, searching under houses & in all places for money & other things that were hidden, and then they departed to their owne kingdomes, because they were not able to maintaine such a kingdome as that was, so farre distant from their owne countrey.

When the kings were departed from Bezeneger, this Temiragio returned to the city, and then beganne for to repopulate it, and sent word to Goa to the Merchants, if they had any horses, to bring them to him, and he would pay well for them, and for this cause the aforesayd two Merchants that I went in company withall, carried those horses that they had to Bezeneger. Also this Tyrant made an order or lawe, that if any Merchant had any of the horses that were taken in the aforesayd battell or warres, although they were of his owne marke, that he would give as much for them as they would: and beside he gave generall safe conduct to all that should bring them. When by this meanes he saw that there were great store of horses brought thither unto him, hee gave the Merchants faire wordes, untill such time as he saw they could bring no more. Then he licenced the Merchants to depart, without giving them any thing for their horses, which when the poore men saw, they were desperate, and as it were mad with sorrow and grieve.

I rested in Bezeneger seven moneths, although in one moneth I might have discharged all my businesse, for it was necessary to rest there untill the wayes were cleere of theeves, which at that time ranged up and downe.



And in the time I rested there, I saw many strange and beastly deeds done by the Gentiles. First, when there is any Noble man or woman dead, they burne their bodies: and if a married man die, his wife must burne herselfe alive, for the love of her husband, and with the body of her husband: so that when any man dieth, his wife will take a moneths leave, two or three, or as shee will, to burne her selfe in, and that day being come, wherein shee ought to be burnt, that morning shee goeth out of her house very earely, either on horsebacke or on an eliphant, or else is borne by eight men on a smal stage: in one of these orders she goeth, being appparelled like to a Bride, carried round about the City, with her haire downe about her shoulders, garnished with jewels and flowers, according to the estate of the party, and they goe with as great joy as Brides doe in Venice to their nuptials: shee carrieth in her left hand a looking glasse, and in her right hand an arrow, and singeth thorow the City as she passeth, and sayth, that she goeth to sleepe with her deere spowse and husband. She is accompanied with her kindred and friends untill it be one or two of the clocke in the afternoone, then they goe out of the City, and going along the rivers side called Nigondin, which runneth under the walles of the City, untill they come unto a place where they use to make this burning of women, being widdowes, there is prepared in this place a great square cave, with a little pinnacle hard by it, foure or five steppes up: the foresayd cave is full of dried wood. The woman being come thither, accompanied with a great number of people which come to see the thing, then they make ready a great banquet, and she that shall be burned eateth with as great joy and gladnesse, as though it were her wedding day: and the feast being ended, then they goe to dancing and singing a certeine time, according as she will. After this, the woman of her owne accord, commandeth them to make the fire in the square cave where the drie wood is, and when it is kindled, they come and certifie her thereof, then presently she leaveth the feast, and taketh the nearest kinseman of her husband by the hand, and they both goe together to the banke of the foresayd river, where shee putteth off all her jewels and all her clothes, and giveth them to her parents or kinsefolke, and covering herselfe with a cloth, because she will not be seene

of the people being naked, she throweth herselfe into the river, saying: O wretches, wash away your sinnes. Comming out of the water, she rowleth herselfe into a yellow cloth of foureteene braces long: and againe she taketh her husbands kinseman by the hand, and they go both together up to the pinnacle of the square cave wherein the fire is made. When she is on the pinnacle, shee talketh and reasoneth with the people, recommending unto them her children and kindred. Before the pinnacle they use to set a mat, because they shall not see the fiercenesse of the fire, yet there are many that will have them plucked away, shewing therein an heart not fearefull, and that they are not affrayd of that sight. When this silly woman hath reasoned with the people a good while to her content, there is another woman that taketh a pot with oile, and sprinckleth it over her head, and with the same she anoynteth all her body, and afterwards throweth the pot into the fornace, and both the woman and the pot goe together into the fire, and presently the people that are round about the fornace throw after her into the cave great pieces of wood, so by this meanes, with the fire and with the blowes that she hath with the wood throwen after her, she is quickly dead, and after this there groweth such sorrow and such lamentation among the people, that all their mirth is turned into howling and weeping, in such wise, that a man could scarce beare the hearing of it. I have seene many burnt in this maner, because my house was neere to the gate where they goe out to the place of burning: and when there dieth any great man, his wife with all his slaves with whom hee hath had carnall copulation, burne themselves together with him. Also in this kingdom I have seene amongst the base sort of people this use and order, that the man being dead, hee is carried to the place where they will make his sepulchre, and setting him as it were upright, then commeth his wife before him on her knees, casting her armes about his necke, with imbracing and clasping him, untill such time as the Masons have made a wall round about them, and when the wall is as high as their neckes, there commeth a man behinde the woman and strangeth her: then when she is dead, the workemen finish the wall over their heads, and so they lie buried both together. Besides these, there are an infinite number of beastly qualities

amongst them, of which I have no desire to write. I was desirous to know the cause why these women would so wilfully burne themselves against nature and law, and it was told mee that this law was of an ancient time, to make provision against the slaughters which women made of their husbands. For in those dayes before this law was made, the women for every little displeasure that their husbands had done unto them, would presently poison their husbands, and take other men, and now by reason of this law they are more faithfull unto their husbands, and count their lives as deare as their owne, because that after his death her owne followeth presently.

In the yeere of our Lord God 1567, for the ill successe that the people of Bezeneger had, in that their City was sacked by the foure kings, the king with his Court went to dwell in a castle eight dayes journey up in the land from Bezeneger, called Penegonde. Also sixe dayes journey from Bezeneger, is the place where they get Diamants: I was not there, but it was tolde me that it is a great place, compassed with a wall, and that they sell the earth within the wall, for so much a squadron, and the limits are set how deepe or how low they shall digge. Those Diamants that are of a certaine sise and bigger then that sise, are all for the king, it is many yeeres agone, since they got any there, for the troubles that have beene in that kingdome. The first cause of this trouble was, because the sonne of this Temeragio had put to death the lawfull king which he had in prison, for which cause the Barons and Noblemen in that kingdome would not acknowledge him to be their King, and by this meanes there are many kings, and great division in that kingdome, and the city of Bezeneger is not altogether destroyed, yet the houses stand still, but empty, and there is dwelling in them nothing, as is reported, but Tygers and other wilde beasts. The circuit of this city is foure & twentie miles about, and within the walles are certaine mountaines. The houses stand walled with earth, and plaine, all saving the three palaces of the three tyrant brethren, and the Pagodes which are idole houses: these are made with lime and fine marble. I have seene many kings Courts, and yet have I seene none in greatnesse like to this of Bezeneger, I say, for the order of his palace, for it hath nine gates or ports. First when you goe into the place where the king did

lodge, there are five great ports or gates: these are kept with Captaines and souldiers: then within these there are foure lesser gates: which are kept with Porters. Without the first gate there is a little porch, where there is a Captaine with five and twentie souldiers, that keepeth watch and ward night and day: and within that another with the like guard, wherethorow they come to a very faire Court, and at the end of that Court there is another porch as the first, with the like guard, and within that another Court. And in this wise are the first five gates guarded and kept with those Captaines: and then the lesser gates within are kept with a guard of Porters: which gates stand open the greatest part of the night, because the custome of the Gentiles is to doe their businesse, and make their feasts in the night, rather then by day. The city is very safe from theeves, for the Portugall merchants sleepe in the streets, or under porches, for the great heat which is there, and yet they never had any harme in the night. At the end of two moneths, I determined to go for Goa in the company of two other Portugall Marchants, which were making ready to depart, with two palanchines or little litters, which are very commodious for the way, with eight Falchines which are men hired to cary the palanchines, eight for a palanchine, foure at a time: they carry them as we use to carry barrowes. And I bought me two bullocks, one of them to ride on, and the other to carry my victuals and provision, for in that countrey they ride on bullocks with pannels, as we terme them, girts and bridles, and they have a very good commodious pace. From Bezeneger to Goa in Summer it is eight dayes journey, but we went in the midst of Winter, in the moneth of July, and were fifteene dayes comming to Ancola on the sea coast, so in eight dayes I had lost my two bullocks: for he that carried my victuals, was weake and could not goe, the other when I came unto a river where was a little bridge to passe over, I put my bullocke to swimming, and in the midst of the river there was a little Iland, unto the which my bullocke went, and finding pasture, there he remained still, and in no wise we could come to him: and so perforce, I was forced to leave him, and at that time there was much raine, and I was forced to go seven dayes a foot with great paines: and by great chance I met with Falchines by the way, whom I hired to carry

my clothes and victuals. We had great trouble in our journey, for that every day wee were taken prisoners, by reason of the great dissension in that kingdome: and every morning at our departure we must pay rescat foure or five pagies a man. And another trouble wee had as bad as this, that when as wee came into a new governours countrey, as every day we did, although they were al tributary to the king of Bezeneger, yet every one of them stamped a several coine of Copper, so that the money that we tooke this day would not serve the next: at length, by the helpe of God, we came safe to Ancola, which is a country of the queene of Gargopam, tributary to the king of Bezeneger. The marchandise that went every yere from Goa to Bezeneger were Arabian Horses, Velvets, Damasks, and Sattens, Armesine of Portugall, and pieces of China, Saffron, and Skarlets: and from Bezeneger they had in Turkey for their commodities, jewels, and Pagodies which be ducats of golde: the apparell that they use in Bezeneger is Velvet, Satten, Damaske, Scarlet, or white Bumbast cloth, according to the estate of the person with long hats on their heads, called Colae, made of Velvet, Satten, Damaske, or Scarlet, girding themselves in stead of girdles with some fine white bombast cloth: they have breeches after the order of the Turks: they weare on their feet plaine high things called of them Aspergh, and at their eares they have hanging great plenty of golde.

Returning to my voyage, when we were together in Ancola, one of my companions that had nothing to lose, tooke a guide, and went to Goa, whither they goe in foure dayes, the other Portugall not being disposed to go, taried in Ancola for that Winter. The Winter in those parts of the Indies beginneth the fifteenth of May, and lasteth unto the end of October: and as we were in Ancola, there came another Marchant of horses in a palanchine, and two Portugall souldiers which came from Zeilan, and two cariers of letters, which were Christians borne in the Indies; all these consorted to goe to Goa together, and I determined to goe with them, and caused a pallanchine to be made for me very poorely of Canes; and in one of them Canes I hid privily all the jewels I had, and according to the order, I tooke eight Falchines to cary me: and one day about eleven of the clocke wee set forwards on our journey, and about two of the clocke



in the afternoone, as we passed a mountaine which divideth the territory of Ancola and Dialcan, I being a little behinde my company, was assaulted by eight theeves, foure of them had swordes and targets, and the other foure had bowes and arrowes. When the Falchines that carried me understood the noise of the assault, they let the pallanchine and me fall to the ground, and ranne away and left me alone, with my clothes wrapped about me: presently the theeves were on my necke and rifeling me, they stripped me starke naked, and I fained my selfe sicke, because I would not leave the pallanchine, and I had made me a little bedde of my clothes; the theeves sought it very narrowly and subtilly, and found two purses that I had, well bound up together, wherein I had put my Copper money which I had changed for foure pagodies in Ancola. The theeves thinking it had beene so many duckats of golde, searched no further: then they threw all my clothes in a bush, and hied them away, and as God would have it, at their departure there fell from them an handkercher, and when I saw it, I rose from my pallanchine or couch, and tooke it up, and wrapped it together within my pallanchine. Then these my Falchines were of so good condition, that they returned to seeke mee, whereas I thought I should not have found so much goodnesse in them: because they were payed their mony aforehand, as is the use, I had thought to have seene them no more. Before their coming I was determined to plucke the Cane wherein my jewels were hidden, out of my coutch, and to have made me a walking staffe to carry in my hand to Goa, thinking that I should have gone thither on foot, but by the faithfulness of my Falchines, I was rid of that trouble, and so in foure dayes they carried me to Goa, in which time I made hard fare, for the theeves left me neither money, golde, nor silver, and that which I did eat was given me of my men for Gods sake: and after at my coming to Goa I payed them for every thing royally that I had of them. From Goa I departed for Cochin, which is a voyage of three hundred miles, and betweene these two cities are many holdes of the Portugals, as Onor, Mangalor, Barzelor, and Cananor. The Holde or Fort that you shall have from Goa to Cochin that belongeth to the Portugals, is called Onor, which is in the kingdome of the queene of Battacella, which is tributary to the king

of Bezeneger : there is no trade there, but onely a charge with the Captaine and company he keepeth there. And passing this place, you shall come to another small castle of the Portugals called Mangalor, and there is very small trade but onely for a little Rice : and from thence you goe to a little fort called Barzelor, there they have good store of Rice which is carried to Goa : and from thence you shall goe to a city called Cananor, which is a harquebush shot distant from the chiefest city that ye king of Cananor hath in his kingdome being a king of the Gentiles : and he & his are very naughty & malicious people, alwayes having delight to be in warres with the Portugales, and when they are in peace, it is for their interest to let their merchandize passe : there goeth out of this kingdom of Cananor, all the Cardamomum, great store of Pepper, Ginger, Honie, ships laden with great Nuts, great quantitie of Archa, which is a fruit of the bignesse of Nutmegs, which fruite they eate in all those partes of the Indies and beyond the Indies, with the leafe of an Herbe which they call Bettell, the which is like unto our Ivie leafe, but a litle lesser and thinner : they eate it made in plaisters with the lime made of Oistersshels, and thorow the Indies they spend great quantitie of money in this composition, and it is used daily, which thing I would not have beleaved, if I had not seene it. The customers get great profite by these Herbes, for that they have custome for them. When this people eate and chawe this in their mouthes, it maketh their spittle to bee red like unto blood, and they say, that it maketh a man to have a very good stomacke and a sweete breath, but sure in my judgement they eate it rather to fulfill their filthie lustes, and of a knaverie, for this Herbe is moyst and hote, & maketh a very strong expulsion. From Cananor you go to Cranganor, which is another smal Fort of the Portugales in the land of the king of Cranganor, which is another king of the Gentiles, and a countrey of small importance, and of an hundreth and twentie miles, full of thieves, being under the king of Calicut, a king also of the Gentiles, and a great enemy to the Portugales, which when hee is alwayes in warres, hee and his countrey is the nest and resting for stranger theeves, and those bee called Moores of Carposa, because they weare on their heads long red hats, and these thieves part the spoyles that they take on the Sea with the king

of Calicut, for hee giveth leave unto all that will goe a roving, liberally to goe, in such wise, that all along that coast there is such a number of thieves, that there is no sailing in those Seas but with great ships and very well armed, or els they must go in company with the army of the Portugals. From Cranganor to Cochin is 15 miles.

#### Cochin.

COCHIN is, next unto Goa, the chieftest place that the Portugales have in the Indies, and there is great trade of Spices, drugges, and all other sortes of merchandize for the kingdome of Portugale, and there within the land is the kingdome of Pepper, which Pepper the Portugales lade in their shippes by bulke, and not in sackes: the Pepper that goeth for Portugale is not so good as that which goeth for Mecca, because that in times past the officers of the king of Portugale made a contract with the king of Cochin, in the name of the king of Portugale, for the prizes of Pepper, and by reason of that agreement betweene them at that time made, the price can neither rise nor fall, which is a very lowe and base price, and for this cause the villaines bring it to the Portugales, greene and full of filthe. The Moores of Mecca that give a better price, have it cleane and drie, and better conditioned. All the Spices and drugs that are brought to Mecca, are stollen from thence as Contrabanda. Cochin is two cities, one of the Portugales, and another of the king of Cochin: that of the Portugales is situate nearest unto the Sea, and that of the king of Cochin is a mile and a halfe up higher in the land, but they are both set on the bankes of one river which is very great and of a good depth of water which river commeth out of the mountaines of the king of the Pepper, which is a king of the Gentiles, in whose kingdome are many Christians of saint Thomas order: the king of Cochin is also a king of the Gentiles and a great faithfull friend to the king of Portugale, and to those Portugales which are married, and are Citizens in the Citie Cochin of the Portugales. And by this name of Portugales throughout all the Indies, they call all the Christians that come out of the West, whether they bee Italians, Frenchmen, or Almaines, and all they that marrie in Cochin do get an office according to the trade he is of: this they have by the great privileges which the Citizens have of that city, because there

are two principal commodities that they deale withal in that place, which are these. The great store of Silke that commeth from China, and the great store of Sugar which commeth from Bengala: the married Citizens pay not any custome for these two commodities: for all other commodities they pay 4. per cento custome to the king of Cochin, rating their goods at their owne pleasure. Those which are not married and strangers, pay in Cochin to the king of Portugale eight per cento of all maner of merchandise. I was in Cochin when the Vice-roy of the king of Portugale wrought what hee coulde to breake the privilege of the Citizens, and to make them to pay custome as other did: at which time the Citizens were glad to waigh their Pepper in the night that they laded the ships withall that went to Portugale and stole the custome in the night. The king of Cochin having understanding of this, would not suffer any more Pepper to bee weighed. Then presently after this, the marchants were licensed to doe as they did before, and there was no more speach of this matter, nor any wrong done. This king of Cochin is of a small power in respect of the other kings of the Indies, for hee can make but seventie thousand men of armes in his campe: hee hath a great number of Gentlemen which hee calleth Amochi, and some are called Nairi: these two sorts of men esteeme not their lives any thing, so that it may be for the honour of their king, they will thrust themselves forward in every danger, although they know they shall die. These men goe naked from the girdle upwardes, with a clothe rolled about their thighs, going barefooted, and having their haire very long and rolled up together on the toppe of their heads, and alwayes they carrie their Bucklers or Targets with them and their swordes naked, these Nairi have their wives common amongst themselves, and when any of them goe into the house of any of these women, hee leaveth his sworde and target at the doore, and the time that hee is there, there dare not any bee so hardie as to come into that house. The kings children shall not inherite the kingdome after their father, because they hold this opinion, that perchance they were not begotten of the king their father, but of some other man, therefore they accept for their king, one of the sonnes of the kings sisters, or of some other woman of the blood roial, for that they be sure they are of the blood roiall.

The Nairi and their wives use for a braverie to make great holes in their eares, and so bigge and wide, that it is incredible, holding this opinion, that the greater the holes bee, the more noble they esteeme themselves. I had leave of one of them to measure the circumference of one of them with a threed, and within that circumference I put my arme up to the shoulder, clothed as it was, so that in effect they are monstrous great. Thus they doe make them when they be litle, for then they open the eare, & hang a piece of gold or lead thereat, & within the opening, in the hole they put a certaine leafe that they have for that purpose, which maketh the hole so great. They lade ships in Cochin for Portugale and for Ormus, but they that goe for Ormus carrie no Pepper but by Contrabanda, as for Sinamome they easilie get leave to carrie that away, for all other Spices and drugs they may liberally carie them to Ormus or Cambaia, and so all other merchandize which come from other places, but out of the kingdom of Cochin properly they cary away with them into Portugale great abundance of Pepper, great quantitie of Ginger dried and conserved, wild Sinamom, good quantitie of Arecca, great store of Cordage of Cairo, made of the barke of the tree of the great Nut, and better then that of Hempe, of which they carrie great store into Portugale.

The shippes every yeere depart from Cochin to goe for Portugall, on the fift day of December, or the fift day of January. Nowe to follow my voyage for the Indies: from Cochin I went to Coulam, distant from Cochin seventie and two miles, which Coulam is a small Fort of the king of Portugales, situate in the kingdom of Coulam, which is a king of the Gentiles, and of small trade: at that place they lade onely halfe a ship of Pepper, and then she goeth to Cochin to take in the rest, and from thence to Cao Comori is seventie and two miles, and there endeth the coast of the Indies: and amongst this coast, neere to the water side, and also to Cao Comori, downe to the lowe land of Chialo, which is about two hundred miles, the people there are as it were all turned to the Christian faith: there are also Churches of the Friars of S. Pauls order, which Friars doe very much good in those places in turning the people, and in converting them, and take great paines in instructing them in the law of Christ.



## The fishing for Pearles.

THE Sea that lieth betweene the coast which descendeth from Cao Comori, to the lowe land of Chilao, and the Iland Zeilan, they call the fishing of Pearles, which fishing they make every yeere, beginning in March or Aprill, and it lasteth fiftie dayes, but they doe not fishe every yeere in one place, but one yeere in one place, and another yeere in another place of the same sea. When the time of this fishing draweth neere, then they send very good Divers, that goe to discover where the greatest heapes of Oisters bee under water, and right agaynst that place where greatest store of Oisters bee, there they make or plant a village with houses and a Bazar, all of stone, which standeth as long as the fishing time lasteth, and it is furnished with all things necessarie, and nowe and then it is neere unto places that are inhabited, and other times farre off, according to the place where they fishe. The Fishermen are all Christians of the countrey, and who so will may goe to fishing, paying a certaine dutie to the king of Portugall, and to the Churches of the Friars of Saint Paule, which are in that coast. All the while that they are fishing, there are three or foure Fustes armed to defend the Fishermen from Rovers. It was my chance to bee there one time in my passage, and I saw the order that they used in fishing, which is this. There are three or foure Barkes that make consort together, which are like to our litle Pilot boates, and a litle lesse, there goe seven or eight men in a boate: and I have seene in a morning a great number of them goe out, and anker in fiftene or eightene fadome of water, which is the Ordinarie depth of all that coast. When they are at anker, they cast a rope into the Sea, and at the ende of the rope, they make fast a great stone, and then there is readie a man that hath his nose and his eares well stopped, and annoited with oyle, and a basket about his necke, or under his left arme, then hee goeth downe by the rope to the bottome of the Sea, and as fast as he can hee filleth the basket, and when it is full, he shaketh the rope, and his fellowes that are in the Barke hale him up with the basket: and in such wise they goe one by one untill they have laden their barke with oysters, and at evening they come to the village, and then every company maketh their mountaine or heape of oysters one distant

from another, in such wise that you shall see a great long rowe of mountaines or heapes of oysters, and they are not touched untill such time as the fishing bee ended, and at the ende of the fishing every companie sitteth round about their mountaine or heape of oysters, and fall to opening of them, which they may easilie doe because they bee dead, drie and brittle: and if every oyster had pearles in them, it would bee a very good purchase, but there are very many that have no pearles in them: when the fishing is ended, then they see whether it bee a good gathering or a badde: there are certaine expert in the pearles whom they call Chitini, which set and make the price of pearles according to their carracts, beautie, and goodnesse, making foure sortes of them. The first sort bee the round pearles, and they be called Aia of Portugale, because the Portugales doe buy them. The second sorte which are not round, are called Aia of Bengala. The third sort which are not so good as the second, they call Aia of Canara, that is to say, the kingdome of Bezeneger. The fourth and last sort, which are the least and worst sort, are called Aia of Cambaia. Thus the price being set, there are merchants of every countrey which are readie with their money in their handes, so that in a fewe dayes all is bought up at the prises set according to the goodnesse and caracts of the pearles.

In this Sea of the fishing of pearles is an Iland called Manar, which is inhabited by Christians of the countrey which first were Gentiles, and have a small hold of the Portugales being situate over agaynst Zeilan: and betweene these two Ilands there is a chanell, but not very big, and hath but a small depth therein: by reason whereof there cannot any great shippe passe that way, but small ships, and with the increase of the water which is at the change or the full of the Moone, and yet for all this they must unlade them and put their goods into small vessels to lighten them before they can passe that way for feare of Sholdes that lie in the chanell, and after lade them into their shippes to goe for the Indies, and this doe all small shippes that passe that way, but those shippes that goe for the Indies Eastwardes, passe by the coast of Coromandel, on the other side by the land of Chilao which is betweene the firme land and the Iland Manor: and going from the Indies to the coast of Coromandel, they loose some shippes, but they bee emptye,

because that the shippes that passe that way discharge their goods at an Iland called Peripatane, and there land their goods into small flat bottomed boates which drawe litle water, and are called Tane, and can run over every Shold without either danger or losse of any thing, for that they tarrie in Peripatane untill such time as it bee faire weather. Before they depart to passe the Sholdes, the small shippes and flat bottomed boates goe together in companie, and when they have sailed sixe and thirtie miles, they arrive at the place where the Sholdes are, and at that place the windes blowe so forcible, that they are forced to goe thorowe, not having any other refuge to save themselves. The flat bottomed boates goe safe thorow, where as the small shippes if they misse the aforesayd chanell, sticke fast on the Sholdes, and by this meanes many are lost: and comming backe from the Indies, they goe not that way, but passe by the chanell of Manar as is abovesayd, whose chanell is Oazie, and if the shippes sticke fast, it is great chance if there be any danger at all. The reason why this chanell is not more sure to goe thither, is, because the windes that raigne or blowe betweene Zeilan and Manar, make the chanell so shalow with water, that almost there is not any passage. From Cao Comori to the Iland of Zeilan is 120. miles overthwart.

#### Zeilan.

ZEILAN is an Iland, in my judgement, a great deale bigger then Cyprus: on that side towards the Indies lying Westward is the citie called Columba, which is a hold of the Portugales, but without walles or enimies. It hath towards the Sea a free port, the lawfull king of that Iland is in Columbo, and is turned Christian and maintained by the king of Portugall, being deprived of his kingdome. The king of the Gentiles, to whom this kingdome did belong, was called Madoni, which had two sonnes, the first named Barbinas the prince; and the second Ragine. This king by the pollicie of his yoonger sonne, was deprived of his kingdome, who because hee had entised and done that which pleased the armie and souldiours, in despight of his father and brother being prince, usurped the kingdome, and became a great warriour. First, this Iland had three kings; the king of Cotta with his conquered prisoners: the king of Candia,

which is a part of that Iland, and is so called by the name of Candia, which had a reasonable power, and was a great friend to the Portugals, which sayd that hee lived secretly a Christian; the third was the king of Gianifampatan. In thirteene yeeres that this Ragine governed this Iland, he became a great tyrant.

In this Iland there groweth fine Sinamom, great store of Pepper, great store of Nuttes and Arochoe: there they make great store of Cairo to make Cordage: it bringeth foorth great store of Christall Cats eyes, or Ochi de Gati, and they say that they finde there some Rubies, but I have sold Rubies well there that I brought with me from Pegu. I was desirous to see how they gather the Sinamom, or take it from the tree that it groweth on, and so much the rather, because the time that I was there, was the season which they gather it in, which was in the moneth of Aprill, at which time the Portugals were in armes, and in the field, with the king of the countrey; yet I to satisfie my desire, although in great danger, tooke a guide with mee and went into a wood three miles from the Citie, in which wood was great store of Sinamome trees growing together among other wilde trees; and this Sinamome tree is a small tree, and not very high, and hath leaves like to our Baie tree. In the moneth of March or Aprill, when the sappe goeth up to the toppe of the tree, then they take the Sinamom from that tree in this wise. They cut the barke of the tree round about in length from knot to knot, or from joint to joint, above and belowe, and then easilie with their handes they take it away, laying it in the Sunne to drie, and in this wise it is gathered, and yet for all this the tree dieth not, but agaynst the next yeere it will have a new barke, and that which is gathered every yeere is the best Sinamome: for that which groweth two or three yeeres is great, and not so good as the other is; and in these woods groweth much Pepper.

#### Negapatan.

FROM the Iland of Zeilan men use to goe with small shippes to Negapatan, within the firme land, and seventie two miles off is a very great Citie, and very populous of Portugals and Christians of the countrey, and part Gentiles: it is a countrey of small trade, neither have they any trade there, save a good quantitie of Rice, and cloth

of Bumbast which they carie into divers partes: it was a very plentifull countrey of victuals, but now it hath a great deale lesse; and that abundance of victuals caused many Portugales to goe thither and build houses, and dwell there with small charge.

This Citie belongeth to a noble man of the kingdome of Bezeneger being a Gentile, neverthelesse the Portugales and other Christians are well intreated there, and have their churches there with a monasterie of Saint Francis order, with great devotion and very well accommodated, with houses round about: yet for all this, they are amongst tyrants, which alwayes at their pleasure may doe them some harme, as it happened in the yeere of our Lord God one thousand five hundred, sixtie and five: for I remember very well, how that the Nayer, that is to say, the lord of the citie, sent to the citizens to demaund of them certaine Arabian horses, and they having denied them unto him, and gainesayd his demaund, it came to passe that this lord had a desire to see the Sea, which when the poore citizens understood, they doubted some evill, to heare a thing which was not wont to bee, they thought that this man would come to sacke the Citie, and presently they embarked themselves the best they could with their mooveables, marchandize, jewels, money, and all that they had, and caused the shippes to put from the shore. When this was done, as their evill chance would have it, the next night following, there came such a great storme that it put all the shippes on land perforce, and brake them to pieces, and all the goods that came on land and were saved, were taken from them by the souldiours and armie of this lord which came downe with him to see the Sea, and were attendant at the Sea side, not thinking that any such thing would have happened.

#### Saint Thomas or San Tome.

FROM Negapatan following my voyage towards the East an hundred and fiftie miles, I found the house of blessed Saint Thomas, which is a Church of great devotion, and greatly regarded of the Gentiles for the great miracles they have heard to have bene done by that blessed Apostle: neere unto this Church the Portugals have builded them a Citie in the countrey subject to the king of Bezeneger, which citie although it bee not very great,



yet in my judgement it is the fairest in all that part of the Indies : and it hath very faire houses and faire gardens in vacant places very well accommodated : it hath streetes large and streight, with many Churches of great devotion, their houses be set close one unto another, with little doores, every house hath his defence, so that by that meanes it is of force sufficient to defend ye Portugals against the people of that countrey. The Portugals there have no other possession but their gardens and houses that are within the citie : the customes belong to the king of Bezeneger, which are very small and easie, for that it is a countrey of great riches and great trade : there come every yeere two or three great ships very rich, besides many other small ships : one of the two great ships goeth for Pegu, and the other for Malacca, laden with fine Bumbast cloth of every sort, painted, which is a rare thing, because those kinde of clothes shew as they were gilded with divers colours, and the more they be washed, the livelier the colours will shew. Also there is other cloth of Bumbast which is woven with divers colours, and is of great value : also they make in Sant Tome great store of red Yarne, which they die with a roote called Saia, and this colour will never waste, but the more it is washed, the more redder it will shew : they lade this yarne the greatest part of it for Pegu, because that there they worke and weave it to make cloth according to their owne fashion, and with lesser charges. It is a marvelous thing to them which have not seene the lading and unlading of men and merchandize in S. Tome as they do : it is a place so dangerous, that a man cannot bee served with small barkes, neither can they doe their businesse with the boates of the shippes, because they would be beaten in a thousand pieces, but they make certaine barkes (of purpose) high, which they call Masadie, they be made of litle boards ; one board being sowed to another with small cordes, and in this order are they made. And when they are thus made, and the owners will embarke any thing in them, either men or goods, they lade them on land, and when they are laden, the Barke-men thrust the boate with her lading into the streame, and with great speed they make haste all that they are able to rowe out against the huge waves of the sea that are on that shore, untill that they carie them to the ships : and

in like maner they lade these Masadies at the shippes with merchandise and men. When they come neere the shore, the Barke-men leap out of the Barke into the Sea to keepe the Barke right that she cast not thwart the shore, and being kept right, the Suffe of the Sea setteth her lading dry on land without any hurt or danger, and sometimes there are some of them that are overthrown, but there can be no great losse, because they lade but a litle at a time. All the marchandize they lade outwards, they emball it well with Oxe hides, so that if it take wet, it can have no great harme.

In my voyage, returning in the yeere of our Lord God one thousand, five hundred, sixtie and sixe, I went from Goa unto Malacca, in a shippe or Gallion of the king of Portugal, which went unto Banda for to lade Nutmegs & Maces: from Goa to Malacca are one thousand eight hundred miles, we passed without the Iland Zeilan, and went through the chanell of Nicubar, or els through the chanell of Sombrero, which is by the middle of the Iland of Sumatra, called in olde time Taprobana: and from Nicubar to Pegu is as it were a rowe or chaine of an infinite number of Ilands, of which many are inhabited with wilde people, and they call those Ilands the Ilands of Andemaon, and they call their people savage of wilde, because they eate one another: also these Ilands have warre one with another, for they have small Barkes, and with them they take one another, and so eate one another: and if by evil chance any ship be lost on those Ilands, as many have bene, there is not one man of those ships lost there that escapeth uneaten or unslaine. These people have not any acquaintance with any other people, neither have they trade with any, but live onely of such fruites as those Ilands yeeld: and if any ship come neere unto that place or coast as they passe that way, as in my voyage it happened as I came from Malacca through the chanell of Sombrero, there came two of their Barkes neere unto our ship laden with fruites, as with Mouces which wee call Adams apples, with fresh Nuts, and with a fruit called Inani, which fruit is like to our Turneps, but is very sweete and good to eate: they would not come into the shippe for any thing that wee could doe: neither would they take any money for their fruites, but they would trucke for olde shirtes or pieces of olde linnen breeches, these ragges they let downe with a rope into

their Barke unto them, and looke what they thought those things to bee woorth, so much fruite they would make fast to the rope and let us hale it in : and it was told me that at sometimes a man shall have for an old shirt a good piece of Amber.

#### Sumatra.

THIS Iland of Sumatra is a great Iland and devided and governed by many kings, and devided into many chanel, where through there is passage : upon the headland towards the West is the kingdom of Assi governed by a Moore king : this king is of great force and strength, as he that beside his great kingdom, hath many Foists and Gallies. In his kingdom groweth great store of Pepper, Ginger, Benjamin : he is an utter enemy to the Portugals, and hath divers times bene at Malacca to fight against it, and hath done great harme to the boroughes thereof, but the citie alway withstood him valiantly, and with their ordinance did great spoile to his campe. At length I came to the citie of Malacca.

#### The Citie Malacca.

MALACCA is a Citie of marveilous great trade of all kind of marchandize, which come from divers partes, because that all the shippes that saile in these seas, both great and small, are bound to touch at Malacca to paie their custome there, although they unlade nothing at all, as we doe at Elsinor : and if by night they escape away, and pay not their custome, then they fall into a greater danger after : for if they come into the Indies and have not the seale of Malacca, they pay double custome. I have not passed further then Malacca towards the East, but that which I wil speake of here is by good information of them that have bene there. The sailing from Malacca towards the East is not common for all men, as to China and Japan, and so forwards to go who will, but onely for the king of Portugall and his nobles, with leave granted unto them of the king to make such voiages, or to the jurisdiction of the captaine of Malacca, where he expecteth to know what voiages they make from Malacca thither, & these are the kings voiages, that every yere there departeth from Malacca 2. gallions of the kings, one of them goeth to ye Moluccos to lade

Cloves, and the other goeth to Banda to lade Nutmegs and Maces. These two gallions are laden for the king, neither doe they carie any particular mans goods, saving the portage of the Mariners and souldiers, and for this cause they are not voiages for marchants, because that going thither, they shal not have where to lade their goods of returne; and besides this, the captaine will not cary any marchant for either of these two places. There goe small shippes of the Moores thither, which come from the coast of Java, and change or guild their commodities in the kingdom of Assa, and these be the Maces, Cloves, and Nutmegs, which go for the streights of Mecca. The voiages that the king of Portugall granteth to his nobles are these, of China and Japan, from China to Japan, and from Japan to China, and from China to the Indies, and the voyage of Bengala, Maluco, and Sonda, with the lading of fine cloth, and every sort of Bumbast cloth. Sonda is an Iland of the Moores neere to the coast of Java, and there they lade Pepper for China. The ship that goeth every yeere from the Indies to China, is called the ship of Drugs, because she carieth divers drugs of Cambaia, but the greatest part of her lading is silver. From Malacca to China is eighteene hundred miles: and from China to Japan goeth every yeere a shippe of great importance laden with Silke, which for returne of their Silke bringeth barres of silver which they trucke in China. The distance betweene China and Japan is foure and twentie hundred miles, and in this way there are divers Ilands not very bigge, in which the Friars of saint Paul, by the helpe of God, make many Christians there like to themselves. From these Ilands hitherwards the place is not yet discovered for the great sholdnesse of Sandes that they find. The Portugals have made a small citie neere unto the coast of China called Macao, whose church and houses are of wood, and it hath a bishoprike, but the customs belong to the king of China, and they goe and pay the same at a citie called Canton, which is a citie of great importance and very beautifull two dayes journey and a halfe from Macao. The people of China are Gentiles, and are so jealous and fearefull, that they would not have a stranger to put his foote within their land: so that when the Portugals go thither to pay their custome, and to buy their marchandize, they will not consent that they shall lie or lodge

within the citie, but send them foorth into the suburbs. The countrey of China is neere the kingdom of great Tartaria, and is a very great countrey of the Gentiles and of great importance, which may be judged by the rich and precious marchandize that come from thence, then which I beleeeve there are not better nor in greater quantitie in the whole world besides.

First, great store of golde, which they carie to the Indies, made in plates like to little shippes, and in value three and twentie caracts a peece, very great abundance of fine silke, cloth of damaske and taffata, great quantitie of muske, great quantitie of Occam in barres, great quantitie of quicksilver and of Cinaper, great store of Camfora, an infinite quantitie of Porcellane, made in vessels of diverse sortes, great quantitie of painted cloth and squares, infinite store of the rootes of China: and every yeere there commeth from China to the Indies, two or three great shippes, laden with most rich and precious marchandise. The Rubarbe commeth from thence over lande, by the way of Persia, because that every yeere there goeth a great Carovan from Persia to China, which is in going thither sixe moneths. The Carovan arriveth at a Citie called Lanchin, the place where the king is resident with his Court. I spake with a Persian that was three yeeres in that citie of Lanchin, and he tolde me that it was a great Citie and of great importance. The voiages of Malacca which are in the jurisdiction of the Captaine of the castle, are these: Every yeere he sendeth a small shippe to Timor to lade white Sandols, for all the best commeth from this Iland: there commeth some also from Solor, but that is not so good: also he sendeth another small ship every yere to Cauchin China, to lade there wood of Aloes, for that all the wood of Aloes commeth from this place, which is in the firme land neere unto China, and in that kingdome I could not knowe how that wood groweth by any meanes. For that the people of the countrey will not suffer the Portugales to come within the land, but onely for wood and water, and as for all other things that they wanted, as victuals or marchandise, the people bring that a boord the ship in small barkes, so that every day there is a mart kept in the ship, untill such time as she be laden: also there goeth another ship for the said Captaine of Malacca to Sion, to lade Verzino: all these voiages are for the Captaine of



the castle of Malacca, and when he is not disposed to make these voiaiges, he selleth them to another.

The citie of Sion, or Siam.

SION was the imperiall seat, and a great Citie, but in the yeere of our Lord God one thousand five hundred sixtie and seven, it was taken by the king of Pegu, which king made a voyage or came by lande foure moneths journey with an armie of men through his lande, and the number of his armie was a million and foure hundreth thousand men of warre: when hee came to the Citie, he gave assault to it, and besieged it one and twentie monethes before he could winne it, with great losse of his people, this I know, for that I was in Pegu sixe moneths after his departure, and sawe when that his officers that were in Pegu, sent five hundreth thousand men of warre to furnish the places of them that were slaine and lost in that assault: yet for all this, if there had not beene treason against the citie, it had not beene lost: for on a night there was one of the gates set open, through the which with great trouble the king gate into the citie, and became governour of Sion: and when the Emperour sawe that he was betrayed, and that his enemy was in the citie, he poysoned himselfe: and his wives and children, friends and noblemen, that were not slaine in the first affront of the entrance into the citie, were all caried captives into Pegu, where I was at the comming home of the king with his triumphs and victorie, which comming home & returning from the warres was a goodly sight to behold, to see the Elephants come home in a square, laden with golde, silver, jewels, and with Noble men and women that were taken prisoners in that citie.

Now to returne to my voyage: I departed from Malacca in a great shippe which went for Saint Tome, being a Citie situate on the coast of Coromandel: and because the Captaine of the castles of Malacca had understanding by advise that the king of Assi would come with a great armie and power of men against them, therefore upon this he would not give licence that any shippes should depart: Wherefore in this ship wee departed from thence in the night, without making any provision of our water: and wee were in that shippe foure hundreth and odde men: we departed from thence

with intention to goe to an Iland to take in water, but the windes were so contrary, that they would not suffer us to fetch it, so that by this meanes wee were two and fortie dayes in the sea as it were lost, and we were driven too and fro, so that the first lande that we discovered, was beyonde Saint Tome, more then five hundreth miles which were the mountaines of Zerzerline, neere unto the kingdome of Orisa, and so wee came to Orisa with many sicke, and more that were dead for want of water: and they that were sicke in foure dayes dyed: and I for the space of a yeere after had my throat so sore and hoarse, that I could never satisfie my thirst in drinking of water: I judge the reason of my hoarsenesse to bee with soppes that I wet in vineger and oyle, wherewith I susteyned my selfe many dayes. There was not any want of bread nor of wine: but the wines of that countrey are so hot that being drunke without water they will kill a man: neither are they able to drinke them: when we beganne to want water, I sawe certaine Moores that were officers in the ship, that solde a small dish full for a duckat, after this I sawe one that would have given a barre of Pepper, which is two quintalles and a halfe, for a litle measure of water, and he could not have it. Truly I beleeeve that I had died with my slave, whom then I had to serve mee, which cost mee verie deare: but to provide for the daunger at hand, I solde my slave for halfe that he was worth, because that I would save his drinke that he drunke, to serve my owne purpose, and to save my life.

#### Of the kingdome of Orisa, and the river Ganges.

ORISA was a faire kingdome and trustie, through the which a man might have gone with golde in his hande without any daunger at all, as long as the lawefull King reigned which was a Gentile, who continued in the citie called Catecha, which was within the land sixe dayes journey. This king loved strangers marveilous well, especially marchants which had traffique in and out of his kingdome, in such wise that hee would take no custome of them, neither any other grievous thing. Onely the shippe that came thither payde a small thing according to her portage, and every yeere in the port of Orisa were laden five and twentie or thirtie ships great and small, with ryce and divers sortes of fine white bumbaste cloth,

oyle of Zerzeline which they make of a seed, and it is very good to eate and to fry fish withal, great store of butter, Lacca, long pepper, Ginger, Mirabolans dry and condite, great store of cloth of herbes, which is a kinde of silke which groweth amongst the woods without any labour of man, and when the bole thereof is growen round as bigge as an Orenge, then they take care onely to gather them. About sixteene yeeres past, this king with his kingdome were destroyed by the king of Patane, which was also king of the greatest part of Bengala, and when he had got the kingdome, he set custome there twenty procento, as Marchants paide in his kingdome: but this tyrant enjoyed his kingdome but a small time, but was conquered by another tyrant, which was the great Mogol king of Agra, Delly, and of all Cambaia, without any resistance. I departed from Orisa to Bengala, to the harbour Piqueno, which is distant from Orisa towardes the East a hundred and seventie miles. They goe as it were rowing alongst the coast fiftie and foure miles, and then we enter into the river Ganges: from the mouth of this river, to a citie called Satagan, where the marchants gather themselves together with their trade, are a hundred miles, which they rowe in eightene houres with the increase of the water: in which river it floweth and ebbeth as it doth in the Thamis, and when the ebbing water is come, they are not able to rowe against it, by reason of the swiftnesse of the water, yet their barkes be light and armed with oares, like to Foistes, yet they cannot prevaile against that streame, but for refuge must make them fast to the banke of the river untill the next flowing water, and they call these barkes Bazaras and Patvas: they rowe as well as a Galliot, or as well as ever I have seene any. A good tides rowing before you come to Satagan, you shall have a place which is called Buttor, and from thence upwards the ships doe not goe, because that upwardes the river is very shallowe, and litle water. Every yeere at Buttor they make and unmake a Village, with houses and shoppes made of strawe, and with all things necessarie to their uses, and this village standeth as long as the ships ride there, and till they depart for the Indies, and when they are departed, every man goeth to his plot of houses, and there setteth fire on them, which thing made me to marvaile. For as I passed up to Satagan, I sawe this village standing with a great

number of people, with an infinite number of ships and Bazars, and at my returne comming downe with my Captaine of the last ship, for whom I tarried, I was amazed to see such a place so soone razed and burnt, & nothing left but the signe of the burnt houses. The small ships go to Satagan, and there they lade.

#### Of the citie of Satagan.

In the port of Satagan every yeere lade thirtie or five and thirtie ships great and small, with rice, cloth of Bombast of diverse sortes, Lacca, great abundance of sugar, Mirabolans dried and preserved, long pepper, oyle of Zerzeline, and many other sorts of marchandise. The citie of Satagan is a reasonable faire citie for a citie of the Moores, abounding with all things, and was governed by the king of Patane, and now is subject to the great Mogol. I was in this kingdome foure moneths, whereas many marchants did buy or freight boates for their benefites, and with these barkes they goe up and downe the river of Ganges to faires, buying their commoditie with a great advantage, because that every day in the weeke they have a faire, now in one place, and now in another, and I also hired a barke and went up and downe the river and did my businesse, and so in the night I saw many strange things. The kingdome of Bengala in times past hath bene as it were in the power of Moores, neverthesse there is great store of Gentiles among them; alwayes whereas I have spoken of Gentiles, is to be understood Idolaters, and wheras I speak of Moores I meane Mahomets sect. Those people especially that be within the land doe greatly worship the river of Ganges: for when any is sicke, he is brought out of the countrey to the banke of the river, and there they make him a small cottage of strawe, and every day they wet him with that water, whereof there are many that die, and when they are dead, they make a heape of stickes and boughes and lay the dead bodie thereon, and putting fire thereunto, they let the bodie alone untill it be halfe rosted, and then they take it off from the fire, and make an emptie jarre fast about his necke, and so throw him into the river. These things every night as I passed up and downe the river I saw for the space of two moneths, as I passed to the fayres to buy my commodities with the marchants. And this is the cause that the Portugales will not drinke

of the water of the river Ganges, yet to the sight it is more perfect and clearer then the water of Nilus is. From the port Piqueno I went to Cochin, and from Cochin to Malacca, from whence I departed for Pegu being eight hundred miles distant. That voyage is woont to be made in five and twentie or thirtie dayes, but we were foure moneths, and at the ende of three moneths our ship was without victuals. The Pilot told us that wee were by his altitude not farre from a citie called Tanasary, in the kingdome of Pegu, and these his words were not true, but we were (as it were) in the middle of many Ilands, and many uninhabited rockes, and there were also some Portugales that affirmed that they knew the land, and knewe also where the citie of Tanasari was.

This citie of right belongeth to the kingdome of Sion, which is situate on a great rivers side, which commeth out of the kingdome of Sion : and where this river runneth into the sea, there is a village called Mirgim, in whose harbour every yeere there lade some ships with Verzina, Nypa, and Benjamin, a few cloves, nutmegs and maces which come from the coast of Sion, but the greatest marchandise there is Verzin and Nypa, which is an excellent wine, which is made of the floure of a tree called Nyper. Whose liquour they distill, and so make an excellent drinke cleare as christall, good to the mouth, and better to the stomake, and it hath an excellent gentle vertue, that if one were rotten with the french pockes, drinking good store of this, he shall be whole againe, and I have seene it proved, because that when I was in Cochin, there was a friend of mine, whose nose beganne to drop away with that disease, and he was counselled of the doctors of phisicke, that he should goe to Tanasary at the time of the new wines, and that he should drinke of the nyper wine, night and day, as much as he could before it was distilled, which at that time is most delicate, but after that it is distilled, it is more strong, and if you drinke much of it, it will fume into the head with drunkenesse. This man went thither, and did so, and I have seene him after with a good colour and sound. This wine is very much esteemed in the Indies, and for that it is brought so farre off, it is very deare : in Pegu ordinarily it is good cheape, because it is neerer to the place where they make it, and there is every yeere great quantitie made thereof. And returning to my purpose, I say, being



amongst these rockes, and farre from the land which is over against Tanasary, with great scarcitie of victuals, and that by the saying of the Pylot and two Portugales, holding then firme that wee were in front of the aforesayd harbour, we determined to goe thither with our boat and fetch victuals, and that the shippe should stay for us in a place assigned. We were twentie and eight persons in the boat that went for victuals, and on a day about twelve of the clocke we went from the ship, assuring our selves to bee in the harbour before night in the aforesaid port, wee rowed all that day, and a great part of the next night, and all the next day without finding harbour, or any signe of good landing, and this came to passe through the evill counsell of the two Portugales that were with us.

For we had overshot the harbour and left it behind us, in such wise that we had lost the lande inhabited, together with the shippe, and we eight and twentie men had no maner of victuall with us in the boate, but it was the Lords will that one of the Mariners had brought a litle rice with him in the boate to barter away for some other thing, and it was not so much but that three or foure men would have eaten it at a meale: I tooke the government of this Ryce, promising that by the helpe of God that Ryce should be nourishment for us until it pleased God to send us to some place that was inhabited: & when I slept I put the ryce into my bosome because they should not rob it from me: we were nine daies rowing alongst the coast, without finding any thing but countreys uninhabited, & desert Ilands, where if we had found but grasse it would have seemed sugar unto us, but wee could not finde any, yet we found a fewe leaves of a tree, and they were so hard that we could not chewe them, we had water and wood sufficient, and as wee rowed, we could goe but by flowing water, for when it was ebbing water, wee made fast our boat to the banke of one of those Ilandes, and in these nine dayes that we rowed, we found a cave or nest of Tortoises egges, wherein were one hundred fortie and foure egges, the which was a great helpe unto us: these egges are as bigge as a hennes egge, and have no shell about them but a tender skinne, every day we sodde a kettle full of those egges, with an handfull of rice in the broth thereof: it pleased God that at the ende of nine dayes we discovered certaine fisher men, a

fishing with small barkes, and we rowed towardes them, with a good cheare, for I thinke there were never men more glad then we were, for wee were so sore afflicted with penurie, that we could scarce stande on our legges. Yet according to the order that we set for our ryce, when we sawe those fisher men, there was left sufficient for foure dayes. The first village that we came to was in the gulfes of Tavay, under the king of Pegu, whereas we found great store of victuals: then for two or three dayes after our arrivall there, we would eate but litle meate any of us, and yet for all this, we were at the point of death the most part of us. From Tavay to Martavan, in the kingdome of Pegu, are seventie two miles. We laded our bote with victuals which were abundantly sufficient for sixe moneths, from whence we departed for the port and Citie of Martavan, where in short time we arrived, but we found not our ship there as we had thought we should, from whence presently we made out two barkes to goe to looke for her. And they found her in great calamitie, and neede of water, being at an anker with a contrary winde, which came very ill to passe, because that she wanted her boat a moneth, which should have made her provision of wood and water, the shippe also by the grace of God arrived safely in the aforesaid port of Martavan.

#### The Citie of Martavan.

WE found in the Citie of Martavan ninetie Portugales of Merchants and other base men, which had fallen at difference with the Retor or governour of the citie, and all for this cause, that certaine vagabondes of the Portugales had slaine five falchines of the king of Pegu, which chaunced about a moneth after the king of Pegu was gone with a million and foure hundred thousand men to conquere the kingdome of Sion. They have for custome in this Countrey and kingdome, the king being where-soever his pleasure is to bee out of his kingdome, that every fiftene dayes there goeth from Pegu a Carovan of Falchines, with every one a basket on his head full of some fruites or other delicates of refreshings, and with cleane clothes: it chaunced that this Carovan passing by Martavan, and resting themselves there a night, there happened betweene the Portugales and them wordes of despyght, and from wordes to blowes, and because it was thought that the Portugales had the worse, the night

following, when the Falchines were a sleepe with their companie, the Portugales went and cut off five of their heads. Now there is a lawe in Pegu, that whosoever killeth a man, he shall buy the shed blood with his money, according to the estate of the person that is slaine, but these Falchines being the servants of the king, the Retors durst not doe any thing in the matter, without the consent of the king, because it was necessarie that the king should knowe of such a matter. When the king had knowledge thereof, he gave commaundement that the malefactors should be kept untill his comming home, and then he would duely minister justice, but the Captaine of the Portugales would not deliver those men, but rather set himselfe with all the rest in armes, and went every day through the Citie marching with his Drumme and ensignes displayd. For at that time the Citie was emptie of men, by reason they were gone all to the warres and in businesse of the king: in the middest of this rumour wee came thither, and I thought it a strange thing to see the Portugales use such insolencie in another mans Citie. And I stode in doubt of that which came to passe, and would not unlade my goods because that they were more sure in the shippe then on the land, the greatest part of the lading was the owners of the shippe, who was in Malacca, yet there were diverse marchants there, but their goods were of small importance, all those marchants tolde me that they would not unlade any of their goods there, unlesse I would unlade first, yet after they left my counsell and followed their owne, and put their goods a lande and lost every whit. The Rector with the customer sent for mee, and demaunded why I put not my goods a lande, and payed my custome as other men did? To whom I answered, that I was a marchant that was newly come thither, and seeing such disorder amongst the Portugales, I doubted the losse of my goods which cost me very deare, with the sweate of my face, and for this cause I was determined not to put my goods on lande, untill such time as his honour would assure me in the name of the king, that I should have no losse, and although there came harme to the Portugales, that neither I nor my goods should have any hurt, because I had neither part nor any difference with them in this tumult: my reason sounded well in the Retors eares, and so presently he sent for the Bargits, which are as Counsellors of

the Citie, and there they promised mee on the kings head or in the behalfe of the king, that neither I nor my goods should have any harme, but that we should be safe and sure : of which promise there were made publike notes. And then I sent for my goods and had them on land, and payde my custome, which is in that countrey ten in the hundreth of the same goods, and for my more securitie I tooke a house right against the Retors house. The Captaine of the Portugales, and all the Portugall marchants were put out of the Citie, and I with twentie and two poore men which were officers in the shippe, had my dwelling in the Citie. After this, the Gentiles devised to be revenged of the Portugales; but they would not put it in execution untill such time as our small shippe had discharged all her goods, and then the next night following came from Pegu foure thousand souldiers with some Elephants of warre; and before that they made any tumult in the citie, the Retor sent, and gave commaundement to all Portugales that were in the Citie, when they heard any rumour or noyse, that for any thing they should not goe out of their houses, as they tendered their owne health. Then foure houres within night I heard a great rumour and noyse of men of warre, with Elephants which threw downe the doores of the ware-houses of the Portugales, and their houses of wood and strawe, in the which tumult there were some Portugales wounded, and one of them slaine; and others without making prooffe of their manhoode, which the day before did so bragge, at that time put themselves to flight most shamefully, and saved themselves a boord of litle shippes, that were at an anker in the harbour, and some that were in their beds fled away naked, and that night they caried away all the Portugalles goods out of the suburbes into the Citie, and those Portugales that had their goods in the suburbes also. After this the Portugales that were fledde into the shippes to save themselves, tooke a newe courage to themselves, and came on lande and set fire on the houses in the suburbes, which houses being made of boorde and strawe, and the winde blowing fresh, in small time were burnt and consumed, with which fire halfe the Citie had like to have beene burnt; when the Portugales had done this, they were without all hope to recover any part of their goods againe, which goods might amount to the summe of sixteene thousand duckats, which, if they had

not set fire to the towne, they might have had againe without any losse at all. Then the Portugales understanding that this thing was not done by the consent of the king, but by his Lieutenant and the Retor of the citie were very ill content, knowing that they had made a great fault, yet the next morning following, the Portugales beganne to bende and shoot their ordinance against the Citie, which batterie of theirs continued foure days, but all was in vaine, for the shotte never hit the Citie, but lighted on the top of a small hill neere unto it, so that the citie had no harme. When the Retor perceived that the Portugales made battery against the Citie, hee tooke one and twentie Portugales that were there in the Citie, and sent them foure miles into the Countrey, there to tarry untill such time as the other Portugales were departed, that made the batterie, who after their departure let them goe at their owne libertie without any harme done unto them. I my selfe was alwayes in my house with a good guard appointed me by the Retor, that no man should doe me injurie, nor harme me nor my goods; in such wise that hee perfourmed all that he had promised me in the name of the king, but he would not let me depart before the comming of the king, which was greatly to my hinderance, because I was twenty and one moneths sequestred, that I could not buy nor sell any kinde of marchandize. Those commodities that I brought thither, were peper, sandols, and Porcellan of China: so when the king was come home, I made my supplication unto him, and I was licenced to depart when I would.

From Martavan I departed to goe to the chieftest Citie in the kingdome of Pegu, which is also called after the name of the kingdome, which voyage is made by sea in three or foure daies; they may goe also by lande, but it is better for him that hath marchandize to goe by sea and lesser charge. And in this voyage you shall have a Macareo, which is one of the most marvellous things in the world that nature hath wrought, and I never saw any thing so hard to be beleevd as this, to wit, the great increasing & diminishing of the water there at one push or instant, and the horrible earthquake and great noyse that the said Macareo maketh where it commeth. We departed from Martavan in barks, which are like to our Pylot boates, with the increase of the water, and they goe as swift as an arrowe out of a bow, so long as the



tide runneth with them, and when the water is at the highest, then they drawe themselves out of the Chanell towards some banke, and there they come to anker, and when the water is diminished, then they rest on dry land: and when the barkes rest dry, they are as high from the bottome of the Chanell, as any house top is high from the ground. They let their barkes lie so high for this respect, that if there should any shippè rest or ride in the Chanell, with such force commeth in the water, that it would overthrowe shippe or barke: yet for all this, that the barkes be so farre out of the Channell, and though the water hath lost her greatest strength and furie before it come so high, yet they make fast their prow to the streame, and oftentimes it maketh them very fearefull, and if the anker did not holde her prow up by strength, shee would be overthrowen and lost with men and goods. When the water beginneth to increase, it maketh such a noyse and so great that you would thinke it an earthquake, and presently at the first it maketh three waves. So that the first washeth over the barke, from stemme to sterne, the second is not so furious as the first, and the thirde rayseth the Anker, and then for the space of sixe houres while the water encreaseth, they rowe with such swiftnesse that you would thinke they did fly: in these tydes there must be lost no jot of time, for if you arrive not at the stagions before the tyde be spent, you must turne backe from whence you came. For there is no staying at any place, but at these stagions, and there is more daunger at one of these places then at another, as they be higher and lower one then another. When as you returne from Pegu to Martavan, they goe but halfe the tide at a time, because they will lay their barkes up aloft on the bankes, for the reason aforesayd. I could never gather any reason of the noyse that this water maketh in the increase of the tide, and in deminishing of the water. There is another Macareo in Cambaya, but that is nothing in comparison of this. By the helpe of God we came safe to Pegu, which are two cities, the olde and the newe, in the olde citie are the Marchant strangers, and marchantes of the Countrey, for there are the greatest doings and the greatest trade. This citie is not very great, but it hath very great suburbes. Their houses be made with canes, and covered with leaves, or with strawe, but the marchants have all one house or Magason, which

house they call Godon which is made of bricke, and there they put all their goods of any valure, to save them from the often mischances that there happen to houses made of such stuffe. In the new citie is the pallace of the king, and his abiding place with all his barons and nobles, and other gentlemen; and in the time that I was there, they finished the building of the new citie: it is a great citie, very plaine and flat, and foure square, walled round about and with ditches that compasse the wals about with water, in which diches are many crocodils, it hath no drawe bridges, yet it hath twentie gates, five for every square on the walles, there are many places made for centinels to watch, made of wood and covered or gilt with gold, the streetes thereof are the fayrest that I have seene, they are as streight as a line from one gate to another, and standing at the one gate you may discover to the other, and they are as broad as 10 or 12 men may ride a breast in them: and those streetes that be thwart are faire and large, these streetes, both on the one side and on the other, are planted at the doores of the houses, with nut trees of India, which make a very commodious shadowe, the houses be made of wood and covered with a kind of tiles in forme of cups, very necessary for their use, the kings palace is in the middle of the citie, made in forme of a walled castle, with ditches full of water round about it, the lodgings within are made of wood all over gilded, with fine pinacles, and very costly worke, covered with plates of golde. Truly it may be a kings house: within the gate there is a faire large court, from the one side to the other, wherein there are made places for the strongest and stoutest Eliphants appointed for the service of the kings person, and amongst all other Eliphants, he hath foure that be white, a thing so rare that a man shall hardly finde another king that hath any such, and if this king knowe any other that hath white Eliphantes, he sendeth for them as for a gift. The time that I was there, there were two brought out of a farre Countrey, and that cost me something the sight of them, for they commaund the marchants to goe to see them, and then they must give somewhat to the men that bring them: the brokers of the marchants give for every man halfe a duckat, which they call a Tansa, which amounteth to a great summe, for the number of merchants that are in that citie; and when they have payde the aforesayde

Tansa, they make chuse whether they will see them at that time or no, because that when they are in the kings stall, every man may see them that will : but at that time they must goe and see them, for it is the kings pleasure it should be so. This King amongst all other his titles, is called the King of the white Eliphants, and it is reported that if this king knewe any other king that had any of these white Eliphantes, and would not send them unto him, that he would hazard his whole kingdome to conquer them, he esteemeth these white Eliphants very deerely, and they are had in great regard, and kept with very meete service, every one of them is in a house, all guilded over, and they have their meate given them in vessels of silver and golde, there is one blacke Elephant the greatest that hath bene seene, and he is kept according to his bignesse, he is nine cubites high, which is a marveilous thing. It is reported that this king hath foure thousand Elephants of warre, and all have their teeth, and they use to put on their two uppermost teeth sharpe pikes of yron, and make them fast with rings, because these beastes fight, and make battell with their teeth; hee hath also very many yong Eliphants that have not their teeth sprowted forth: also this king hath a brave devise in hunting to take these Eliphants when hee will, two miles from the Citie. He hath builded a faire pallace all guilded, and within it a faire Court, and within it and rounde about there are made an infinite number of places for men to stande to see this hunting: neere unto this Pallace is a mighty great wood, through the which the hunts-men of the king ride continually on the backs of the feminine Eliphants, teaching them in this businesse. Every hunter carieth out with him five or sixe of these feminines, and they say that they anoynt the secret place with a certaine composition that they have, that when the wilde Elephant doeth smell thereunto, they followe the feminines and cannot leave them: when the hunts-men have made provision, & the Elephant is so entangled, they guide the feminines towards the Pallace which is called Tambell, and this Pallace hath a doore which doth open and shut wjth engines, before which doore there is a long streight way with trees on both the sides, which covereth the way in such wise as it is like darkenesse in a corner: the wilde Elephant when he commeth to this way, thinketh that he is in the woods. At end of this

darke way there is a great field, when the hunters have gotten this praye, when they first come to this field, they send presently to give knowledge thereof to the Citie, and with all speed there go out fiftie or sixtie men on horsebacke, and doe beset the fielde rounde about: in the great fielde then the females which are taught in this businesse goe directly to the mouth of the darke way, and when as the wilde Eliphant is entred in there, the hunters shoute and make a great noyse, asmuch as is possible, to make the wilde Eliphant enter in at the gate of that Pallace, which is then open, and assoone as hee is in, the gate is shut without any noyse, and so the hunters with the female Eliphants and the wilde one are all in the Court together, and then within a small time the females withdraw themselves away one by one out of the Court, leaving the wilde Eliphant alone: and when he perceiveth that he is left alone, he is so madde that for two or three houres to see him, it is the greatest pleasure in the world: he weepeth, hee flingeth, hee runneth, he justleth, hee thrusteth under the places where the people stand to see him, thinking to kil some of them, but the posts and timber is so strong and great, that hee cannot hurt any body, yet hee oftentimes breaketh his teeth in the grates; at length when hee is weary and hath laboured his body that hee is all wet with sweat, then he plucketh in his truncke into his mouth, and then hee throweth out so much water out of his belly, that he sprinckleth it over the heades of the lookers on, to the uttermost of them, although it bee very high: and then when they see him very weary, there goe certaine officers into the Court with long sharpe canes in their hands, and prick him that they make him to goe into one of the houses that is made amongst the Court for the same purpose: as there are many which are made long and narrow, that when the Eliphant is in, he cannot turne himself to go backe againe. And it is requisite that these men should be very wary and swift, for although their canes be long, yet the Eliphant would kill them if they were not swift to save themselves: at length when they have gotten him into one of those houses, they stand over him in a loft and get ropes under his belly and about his necke, and about his legges, and binde him fast, and so let him stand foure or five dayes, and give him neither meate nor drinke. At the ende of these foure or five

dayes, they unloose him and put one of the females unto him, and give them meate and drinke, and in eight dayes he is become tame. In my judgment there is not a beast so intellective as are these Eliphants, nor of more understanding in al the world: for he wil do all things that his keeper saith, so that he lacketh nothing but humaine speech.

It is reported that the greatest strength that the king of Pegu hath is in these Eliphants, for when they goe to battell, they set on their backes a Castle of wood bound thereto, with bands under their bellies: and in every Castle foure men very commodiously set to fight with hargubushes, with bowes and arrowes, with darts and pikes, and other launcing weapons: and they say that the skinne of this Eliphant is so hard, that an harquebusse will not pierce it, unlesse it bee in the eye, temples, or some other tender place of his body. And besides this, they are of great strength, and have a very excellent order in their battel, as I have seene at their feastes which they make in the yeere, in which feastes the king maketh triumphes, which is a rare thing and worthy memorie, that in so barbarous a people there should be such goodly orders as they have in their armies, which be distinct in squares of Eliphants, of horsemen, of harquebushers and pikemen, that truly the number of them are infinite: but their armour and weapons are very nought and weake as well the one as the other: they have very bad pikes, their swords are worse made, like long knives without points, his harquebushes are most excellent, and alway in his warres he hath eightie thousand harquebushes, and the number of them encreaseth dayly. Because the king will have them shoote every day at the Plancke, and so by continuall exercise they become most excellent shot: also hee hath great Ordinance made of very good mettall; to conclude there is not a King on the earth that hath more power or strength then this king of Pegu, because hee hath twentie and sixe crowned kings at his commaunde. He can make in his Campe a million and an halfe of men of warre in the fiede against his enemies. The state of his kingdome and maintenance of his army, is a thing incredible to consider, & the victuals that should maintaine such a number of people in the warres: but he that knoweth the nature and qualitie of that people, will easily beleeve it. I have seene with mine eyes, that those



people and souldiers have eaten of all sorts of wild beasts that are on the earth, whether it bee very filthie or otherwise all serveth for their mouthes : yea, I have seene them eate Scorpions and Serpents, also they feed of all kinde of herbes and grasse. So that if such a great armie want not water and salt, they wil maintaine themselves a long time in a þush with rootes, flowers and leaves of trees, they cary rice with them for their voyage, & that serveth them in stead of comfits, it is so daintie unto them. This king of Pegu hath not any army or power by sea, but in the land, for people, dominions, golde and silver, he farre exceeds the power of the great Turke in treasure and strength. This king hath divers Magasons ful of treasure, as gold, & silver, and every day he encreaseth it more and more, and it is never diminished. Also hee is Lord of the Mines of Rubies, Safires & Spinels. Neere unto his royal pallace therę is an inestimable treasure whereof hee maketh no accompt, for that it standeth in such a place that every one may see it, and the place where this treasure is, is a great Court walled round about with walls of stone, with two gates which stand open every day. And within this place or Court are foure gilded houses covered with lead, & in every one of these are certaine heathenish idoles of a very great valure. In the first house there is a stature of the image of a man of gold very great, & on his head a crowne of gold beset with most rare Rubies and Safires, and round about him are 4. litle children of gold. In the second house there is the stature of a man of silver, that is set as it were sitting on heapes of money : whose stature in height, as hee sitteth, is so high, that his highnesse exceeds the height of any one rooffe of an house; I measured his feete, and found that they were as long as all my body was in height, with a crowne on his head like to the first. And in the thirde house, there is a stature of brasse of the same bignesse, with a like crowne on his head. In the 4. and last house there is a stature of a man as big as the other, which is made of Gansa, which is the metall they make their money of, & this metall is made of copper & leade mingled together. This stature also hath a crowne on his head like the first : this treasure being of such a value as it is, standeth in an open place that every man at his pleasure may go & see it : for the keepers therof never forbid any man

the sight thereof. I say as I have said before, that this king every yere in his feastes triumpheth: & because it is worthy of the noting, I thinke it meet to write therof, which is as foloweth. The king rideth on a triumphant cart or wagon all gilded, which is drawn by 16. goodly horses: and this cart is very high with a goodly canopy over it, behind the cart goe 20. of his Lordes & nobles, with every one a rope in his hand made fast to the cart for to hold it upright that it fal not. The king sitteth in the middle of the cart; & upon the same cart about the king stande 4. of his nobles most favored of him, and before this cart wherein the king is, goeth all his army as aforesaid, and in the middle of his army goeth all his nobilitie, round about the cart, there are in his dominions, a marveilous thing it is to see so many people, such riches & such good order in a people so barbarous as they be. This king of Pegu hath one principal wife which is kept in a Seralio, he hath 300 concubines, of whom it is reported that he hath 90. children. This king sitteth every day in person to heare the suites of his subjects, but he nor they never speake one to another, but by supplications made in this order. The king sitteth up aloft in a great hall, on a tribunall seat, and lower under him sit all his Barons round about, then those that demaund audience enter into a great Court before the king, and there set them downe on the ground 40. paces distant from the kings person, and amongst those people there is no difference in matters of audience before the king, but all alike, and there they sit with their supplications in their hands, which are made of long leaves of a tree, these leaves are 3. quarters of a yard long, & two fingers broad, which are written with a sharpe iron made for y<sup>t</sup> purpose, & in those leaves are their supplications written, & with their supplications, they have in their hands a present or gift, according to the waightines of their matter. Then come ye secretaries downe to read these supplications, taking them & reading them before the king, & if the king think it good to do to them that favour or justice that they demaund, then he commandeth to take the presents out of their hands: but if he thinke their demand be not just or according to right, he commandeth them away without taking of their gifts or presents. In the Indies there is not any marchandise that is good to bring to Pegu, unlesse it bee at some times by chance

to bring Opium of Cambaia, and if he bring money he shall lose by it. Now the commodities that come from S. Tome are the onely marchandize for that place, which is the great quantity of cloth made there, which they use in Pegu; which cloth is made of bombast woven and painted, so that the more that kinde of cloth is washed, the more livelie they shewe their colours, which is a rare thing, and there is made such accompt of this kinde of cloth which is of so great importance, that a small bale of it will cost a thousand or two thousand duckets. Also from S. Tome they layd great store of red yarne, of bombast died with a roote which they call Saia, as aforesayd, which colour will never out. With which marchandise every yeere there goeth a great shippe from S. Tome to Pegu, of great importance, and they usually depart from S. Tome to Pegu the 11. or 12. of September, & if she stay until the twelfth, it is a great hap if she returne not without making of her voiage. Their use was to depart the sixt of September, and then they made sure voyages, and now because there is a great labour about that kind of cloth to bring it to perfection, and that it be well dried, as also the greedinesse of the Captaine that would make an extraordinary gaine of his freight, thinking to have the wind alwayes to serve their turne, they stay so long, that at sometimes the winde turneth. For in those parts the windes blow firmly for certaine times, with the which they goe to Pegu with the winde in poepe, and if they arrive not there before the winde change, and get ground to anker, perforce they must returne backe againe: for that the gales of the winde blowe there for three or foure moneths together in one place with great force. But if they get the coast & anker there, then with great labour they may save their voyage. Also there goeth another great shippe from Bengala every yeere, laden with fine cloth of bombast of all sorts, which arriveth in the harbour of Pegu, when the ship that cometh from S. Tome departeth. The harbour where these two ships arrive is called Cosmin. From Malaca to Martavan, which is a port in Pegu, there come many small ships, and great, laden with pepper, Sandolo, Porcellan of China, Camfora, Bruneo and other marchandise. The ships that come from Mecca enter into the port of Pegu and Cirion, and those shippes bring cloth of Wooll, Scarlets, Velvets, Opium, and Chickinos, by the which

they lose, and they bring them because they have no other thing that is good for Pegu: but they esteeme not the losse of them, for that they make such great gaine of their commodities that they cary from thence out of that kingdome. Also the king of Assi his ships come thither into the same port laden with peper; from the coast of S. Tome of Bengala out of the Sea of Bara to Pegu are three hundreth miles, and they go it up the river in foure daies, with the encreasing water, or with the flood, to a City called Cosmin, and there they discharge their ships, whither the Customers of Pegu come to take the note and markes of all the goods of every man, & take the charge of the goods on them, and convey them to Pegu, into the kings house, wherin they make the custome of the marchandize. When the Customers have taken the charge of the goods & put them into barks, the Retor of the City giveth licence to the Marchants to take barke, and goe up to Pegu with their marchandize; and so three or foure of them take a barke and goe up to Pegu in company. God deliver every man that hee give not a wrong note, and entrie, or thinke to steale any custome: for if they do, for the least trifle that is, he is utterly undone, for the king doeth take it for a most great affront to bee deceived of his custome; and therefore they make diligent searches, three times at the lading and unlading of the goods, and at the taking of them a land. In Pegu this search they make when they goe out of the ship for Diamonds, Pearles, and fine cloth which taketh little roome: for because that all the jewels that come into Pegu, and are not found of that countrey, pay custome, but Rubies, Safyres and Spinel pay no custome in nor out: because they are found growing in that Countrey. I have spoken before, how that all Marchants that meane to goe thorow the Indies, must cary al maner of houshold stufte with them which is necessary for a house, because that there is not any lodging nor Innes nor hostes, nor chamber roome in that Countrey, but the first thing a man doth when he commeth to any City is to hier a house, either by the yeere or by the moneth, or as he meanes to stay in those parts.

In Pegu their order is to hire their houses for sixe moneths. Nowe from Cosmin to the Citie of Pegu they goe in sixe houres with the flood, and if it be ebbing water, then they make fast their boate to the river side,

and there tary until the water flow againe. It is a very commodious and pleasant voyage, having on both sides of the rivers many great vilages, which they call Cities: in the which hennes, pigeons, egges, milke, rice, and other things be very good cheape. It is all plaine, and a goodly Countrey, and in eight dayes you may make your voyage up to Macceo, distant from Pegu twelve miles, & there they discharge their goods, & lade them in Carts or waines drawen with oxen, and the Marchants are caried in a closet which they call Deling, in the which a man shall be very well accommodated, with cushions under his head, and covered for the defence of the Sunne and raine, and there he may sleepe if he have wil thereunto: and his foure Falchines cary him running away, changing two at one time and two at another. The custome of Pegu and freight thither, may amount unto twentie or twentie two per cento, and 23. according as he hath more or lesse stolen from him that day they custome the goods. It is requisite that a man have his eyes watchfull, and to be carefull, and to have many friendes, for when they custome in the great hall of the king, there come many gentlemen accompanied with a number of their slaves, and these gentlemen have no shame that their slaves rob strangers: whether it be cloth in shewing of it or any other thing, they laugh at it. And although the Marchants helpe one another to keepe watch, & looke to their goods, they cannot looke therto so narrowly but one or other wil rob something, either more or lesse, according as their marchandise is more or lesse: and yet on this day there is a worse thing then this: although you have set so many eyes to looke there for your benefit, that you escape unrobbed of the slaves, a man cannot choose but that he must be robbed of the officers of the custome house. For paying the custome with the same goods oftentimes they take the best that you have, & not by rate of every sort as they ought to do, by which meanes a man payeth more then his dutie. At length when the goods be dispatched out of the custome house in this order, the Marchant causeth them to be caried to his house, and may do with them at his pleasure.

There are in Pegu 8. brokers of the kings, which are called Tareghe, who are bound to sell all the marchandize which come to Pegu, at the common or the currant price: then if the marchants wil sell their goods at that price,



they sel them away, and the brokers have two in the hundreth of every sort of marchandise, and they are bound to make good the debts of those goods, because they be sold by their hands or meanes, & on their wordes, and oftentimes the marchant knoweth not to whom he giveth his goods, yet he cannot lose any thing thereby, for that the broker is bound in any wise to pay him, and if the marchant sel his goods without the consent of the broker, yet neverthesse he must pay him two per cento, and be in danger of his money: but this is very seldom seene, because the wife, children, and slaves of the debtor are bound to the creditor, and when his time is expired and paiment not made, the creditor may take the debtor and cary him home to his house, and shut him up in a Magasin, whereby presently he hath his money, and not being able to pay the creditor, he may take the wife, children, and slaves of the debtor, and sel them, for so is the lawe of that kingdome. The currant money that is in this city, and throughout all this kingdom is called Gansa or Ganza, which is made of Copper and leade: It is not the money of the king, but every man may stamp it that wil, because it hath his just partition or value: but they make many of them false, by putting overmuch lead into them, and those will not passe, neither will any take them. With this money Ganza, you may buy golde or silver, Rubies and Muske, and other things. For there is no other money currant amongst them. And Golde, silver and other marchandize are at one time dearer then another, as all other things be.

This Ganza goeth by weight of Byze, & this name of Byza goeth for ye accompt of the weight, and commonly a Byza of a Ganza is worth (after our accompt) halfe a ducat, litle more or lesse: and albeit that Gold and silver is more or lesse in price, yet the Byza never changeth: every Byza maketh a hundreth Ganza of weight, and so the number of the money is Byza. He that goeth to Pegu to buy Jewels, if he wil do well, it behoveth him to be a whole yere there to do his businesse. For if so be that he would return with the ship he came in, he cannot do any thing so conveniently for the brevitie of the time, because that when they custome their goods in Pegu that come from S. Tome in their ships, it is as it were about Christmas: and when they have customed their goods, then must they sell them for their credits

sake for a moneth or two: and then at the beginning of March the ships depart. The Marchants that come from S. Tome take for the paiement of their goods, gold, and silver, which is never wanting there. And 8. or 10. dayes before their departure they are all satisfied: also they may have Rubies in paiement, but they make no accompt of them: and they that will winter there for another yere, it is needfull that they be advertized, that in the sale of their goods, they specifie in their bargaine, the terme of two or 3. moneths paiement, & that their paiement shalbe in so many Ganza, and neither golde nor silver: because that with the Ganza they may buy & sel every thing with great advantage. And how needful is it to be advertized, when they wil recover their paiements, in what order they shal receive their Ganza? Because he that is not experienced may do himselfe great wrong in the weight of the Ganza, as also in the falsenesse of them: in the weight he may be greatly deceived, because that from place to place it doth rise and fall greatly: and therefore when any wil receive money or make paiement, he must take a publique wayer of money, a day or two before he go about his businesse, and give him in paiement for his labour two Byzaes a moneth, and for this he is bound to make good all your money, & to maintaine it for good, for that hee receiveth it and seales the bags with his seale: and when hee hath received any store, then hee causeth it to bee brought into the Magason of the Marchant, that is the owner of it.

That money is very weightie, for fourtie Byza is a strong Porters burden; and also where the Marchant hath any payment to be made for those goods which he buyeth, the Common wayer of money that receiveth his money must make the payment thereof. So that by this meanes, the Marchant with the charges of two Byzes a moneth, receiveth and payeth out his money without losse or trouble. The Marchandizes that goe out of Pegu are Gold, Silver, Rubies, Saphyres, Spinelles, great store of Benjamin, long peper, Leade, Lacca, rice, wine, some sugar, yet there might be great store of sugar made in the Countrey, for that they have abundance of Canes, but they give them to Eliphants to eate, and the people consume great store of them for food, and many more doe they consume in vaine things, as these following. In that kingdome they spend many of these Sugar canes

in making of houses and tents which they call Varelly for their idoles, which they call Pagodes, whereof there are great aboundance, great and smal, and these houses are made in forme of little hilles, like to Sugar loaves or to Bells, and some of these houses are as high as a reasonable steeple, at the foote they are very large, some of them be in circuit a quarter of a mile. The saide houses within are full of earth, and walled round about with bricke and dirt in steade of lime, and without forme, from the top to the foote they make a covering for them with Sugar canes, and plaister it with lime all over, for otherwise they would bee spoyled, by the great aboundance of raine that falleth in those Countreys. Also they consume about these Varelly or idol houses great store of leafe-gold, for that they overlay all the tops of the houses with gold, and some of them are covered with golde from the top to the foote: in covering whereof there is great store of gold spent, for that every 10. yeeres they new overlay them with gold, from the top to the foote, so that with this vanitie they spend great aboundance of golde. For every 10. yerres the raine doeth consume the gold from these houses. And by this meanes they make golde dearer in Pegu then it would bee, if they consumed not so much in this vanitie. Also it is a thing to bee noted in the buying of jewels in Pegu, that he that hath no knowledge shall have as good jewels, and as good cheap, as he that hath bene practized there a long time, which is a good order, and it is in this wise. There are in Pegu foure men of good reputation, which are called Tareghe, or brokers of Jewels. These foure men have all the Jewels or Rubies in their handes, and the Marchant that wil buy commeth to one of these Tareghe and telleth him, that he hath so much money to employ in Rubies. For through the hands of these foure men passe all the Rubies: for they have such quantitie, that they knowe not what to doe with them, but sell them at most vile and base prices. When the Marchant hath broken his mind to one of these brokers or Tareghe, they cary him home to one of their Shops, although he hath no knowledge in Jewels: and when the Jewellers perceiue that hee will employ a good round summe, they will make a bargaine, and if not, they let him alone. The use generally of this Citie is this; that when any Marchant hath bought any great quantitie of Rubies, and

hath agreed for them, hee carieth them home to his house, let them be of what value they will, he shall have space to looke on them and peruse them two or three dayes : and if he hath no knowledge in them, he shall alwayes have many Marchants in that Citie that have very good knowledge in Jewels ; with whom he may alwayes conferre and take counsell, and may shew them unto whom he will ; and if he finde that hee hath not employed his money well, hee may returne his Jewels backe to them whom hee had them of, without any losse at all. Which thing is such a shame to the Tareghe to have his Jewels returne, that he had rather beare a blow on the face then that it should be thought that he solde them so deere to have them returned. For these men have alwayes great care that they affoord good peniworths, especially to those that have no knowledge. This they doe, because they woulde not loose their credite : and when those Marchants that have knowledge in Jewels buy any, if they buy them deere, it is their own faults and not the brokers : yet it is good to have knowledge in Jewels, by reason that it may somewhat ease the price. There is also a very good order which they have in buying of Jewels, which is this ; There are many Marchants that stand by at the making of the bargaine, and because they shall not understand howe the Jewels be solde, the Broker and the Marchants have their hands under a cloth, and by touching of fingers and nipping the joynts they know what is done, what is bidden, and what is asked. So that the standers by knowe not what is demaunded for them, although it be for a thousand or 10. thousand duckets. For every joynt and every finger hath his signification. For if the Marchants that stande by should understand the bargaine, it would breede great controversie amongst them. And at my being in Pegu in the moneth of August, in Anno 1569. having gotten well by my endeavour, I was desirous to see mine owne Countrey, and I thought it good to goe by the way of S. Tome, but then I should tary until March.

In which journey I was counsailed, yea, and fully resolved to go by the way of Bengala, with a shippe there ready to depart for that voyage. And then wee departed from Pegu to Chatigan a great harbour or port, from whence there goe smal ships to Cochin, before the fleete depart for Portugall, in which ships I was fully

determined to goe to Lisbon, and so to Venice. When I had thus resolved my selfe, I went a boord of the shippe of Bengala, at which time it was the yeere of Touffon: concerning which Touffon ye are to understand, that in the East Indies often times, there are not stormes as in other countreys; but every 10. or 12. yeeres there are such tempests and stormes, that it is a thing incredible, but to those that have seene it, neither do they know certainly what yeere they wil come.

Unfortunate are they that are at sea in that yere and time of the Touffon, because few there are that escape that danger. In this yere it was our chance to be at sea with the like storme, but it happened well unto us, for that our ship was newly over-plancked, and had not any thing in her save victuall and balasts, Silver and golde, which from Pegu they cary to Bengala, and no other kinde of Marchandise. This Touffon or cruel storme endured three dayes and three nights: in which time it caried away our sailes, yards, and rudder; and because the shippe laboured in the Sea, wee cut our mast over boord: which when we had done she laboured a great deale more then before, in such wise, that she was almost full with water that came over the highest part of her and so went downe: and for the space of three dayes and three nights sixtie men did nothing but hale water out of her in this wise, twentie men in one place, and twentie men in another place, and twentie in a thirde place: and for all this storme, the shippe was so good, that shee tooke not one jot of water below through her sides, but all ran downe through the hatches, so that those sixtie men did nothing but cast the Sea into the Sea. And thus driving too and fro as the winde and Sea would, we were in a darke night about foure of the clocke cast on a sholde: yet when it was day, we could neither see land on one side nor other, and knew not where we were. And as it pleased the divine power, there came a great wave of the Sea, which drave us beyonde the should. And when wee felt the shippe aflote, we rose up as men revived, because the Sea was calme and smooth water, and then sounding we found twelve fadome water, and within a while after wee had but sixe fadome, and then presently we came to anker with a small anker that was left us at the sterne, for all our other were lost in the storme: and by and by the shippe strooke a ground,



and then wee did prop her that she should not overthrow.

When it was day the shippe was all dry, and wee found her a good mile from the Sea on drie land. This Touffon being ended, we discovered an Island not farre from us, and we went from the shippe on the sands to see what Island it was : and wee found it a place inhabited, and, to my judgement, the fertilest Island in all the world, the which is divided into two parts by a chanell which passeth betweene it, & with great trouble we brought our ship into the same chanel, which parteth the Island at flowing water, and there we determined to stay 40. dayes to refresh us. And when the people of the Island saw the ship, and that we were comming a land : presently they made a place of bazar or a market, with shops right over against the ship with all maner of provision of victuals to eate, which they brought downe in great abundance, and sold it so good cheape, that we were amazed at the cheapenesse thereof. I bought many salted kine there, for the provision of the ship, for halfe a Larine a piece, which Larine may be 12. shillings sixe pence, being very good and fat; and 4. wilde hogges ready dressed for a Larine; great fat hennes for a Bizze a piece, which is at the most a pennie : and the people told us that we were deceived the halfe of our money, because we bought things so deare. Also a sacke of fine rice for a thing of nothing, and consequently all other things for humane sustenance were there in such abundance, that it is a thing incredible but to them that have seene it. This Island is called Sondiva belonging to the kingdome of Bengala, distant 120. miles from Chatigan, to which place wee were bound. The people are Moores, and the king a very good man of a Moore king, for if he had bin a tyrant as others be, he might have robbed us of all, because the Portugall captaine of Chatigan was in armes against the Retor of that place, & every day there were some slaine, at which newes we rested there with no smal feare, keeping good watch and ward aboard every night as the use is, but the governour of the towne did comfort us, and bad us that we should feare nothing, but that we should repose our selves securely without any danger, although the Portugales of Chatigan had slaine the governour of that City, and said that we were not culpable in that fact : and moreover he did us every day

what pleasure he could, which was a thing contrary to our expectations considering that they & the people of Chatigan were both subjects to one king. We departed from Sondiva, & came to Chatigan the great port of Bengala, at the same time when the Portugales had made peace and taken a truce with the governours of the towne, with this condition that the chiefe Captaine of the Portugales with his ship should depart without any lading : for there were then at that time 18. ships of Portugales great and small. This Captaine being a Gentleman and of good courage, was notwithstanding contented to depart to his greatest hinderance, rather then hee would seeke to hinder so many of his friends as were there, as also because the time of the yeere was spent to go to the Indies. The night before he departed, every ship that had any lading therein, put it aboard of the Captaine to helpe to ease his charge and to recompence his courtesies. In this time there came a messenger from the king of Rachim to this Portugal Captaine, who saide in the behalfe of his king, that hee had heard of the courage and valure of him, desiring him gently that he would vouchsafe to come with the ship into his port, and coming thither he should be very wel intreated. This Portugal went thither and was very well satisfied of this King.

This King of Rachim hath his seate in the middle coast betweene Bengala and Pegu, and the greatest enemy he hath is the king of Pegu : which king of Pegu deviseth night and day how to make this king of Rachim his subject, but by no meanes hee is able to doe it : because the king of Pegu hath no power nor armie by Sea. And this king of Rachim may arme two hundreth Galleyes or Fusts by Sea, and by land he hath certaine sluses with the which when the king of Pegu pretendeth any harme towards him, hee may at his pleasure drowne a great part of the Countrey. So that by this meanes hee cutteth off the way whereby the king of Pegu should come with his power to hurt him.

From the great port of Chatigan they cary for the Indies great store of rice, very great quantitie of Bombast cloth of every sort, Suger, corne, and money, with other marchandize. And by reason of the warres in Chatigan, the Portugall ships taried there so long, that they arrived not at Cochin so soone as they were wont to doe other

yeeres. For which cause the fleete that was at Cochin was departed for Portugal before they arrived there, and I being in one of the small shippes before the fleete, in discovering of Cochin, we also discovered the last shippe of the Fleete that went from Cochin to Portugall, where shee made saile, for which I was marveilously discomforted, because that all the yeere following, there was no going for Portugale, and when we arrived at Cochin I was fully determind to goe for Venice by the way of Ormus, and at that time the Citie of Goa was besieged by the people of Dialcan, but the Citizens forced not this assault, because they supposed that it would not continue long. For all this I embarked my selfe in a Galley that went for Goa, meaning there to shippe my selfe for Ormus: but when we came to Goa, the Viceroy would not suffer any Portugal to depart, by reason of the warres. And being in Goa but a small time, I fell sicke of an infirmitie that helde mee foure moneths: which with phisicke and diet cost me eight hundred duckets, and there I was constrained to sell a smal quantitie of Rubies to sustaine my neede: and I solde that for five hundreth duckets, that was worth a thousand. And when I beganne to waxe well of my disease, I had but little of that money left, every thing was so scarce: For every chicken (and yet not good) cost mee seven or eight Livers, which is sixe shillings, or sixe shillings eight pence. Beside this great charges, the Apothecaries with their medicines were no small charge to me. At the ende of sixe moneths they raised the siege, and then I beganne to worke, for Jewels were risen in their prices: for, whereas before I sold a few of refused Rubies, I determined then to sell the rest of all my Jewels that I had there, and to make an other voyage to Pegu. And for because that at my departure from Pegu, Opium was in great request, I went then to Cambaya to imploy a good round summe of money in Opium, and there I bought 60. percels of Opium, which cost me two thousand & a hundreth duckets, every ducket at foure shillings two pence. Moreover I bought three bales of Bombast cloth, which cost me eight hundred duckats, which was a good commoditie for Pegu: when I had bought these things, the Viceroy commanded that the custome of the Opium should be paide in Goa, and paying custome there I might cary it whither I would. I shipped my 3. bales of

cloth at Chaul in a shippe that went for Cochin, and I went to Goa to pay the aforesaid custome for my Opium, and from Goa I departed to Cochin in a ship that was for the voyage of Pégu, and went to winter then at S. Tome. When I came to Cochin, I understood that the ship that had my three bales of cloth was cast away and lost, so that I lost my 800. Serafins or duckats: and departing from Cochin to goe for S. Tome, in casting about for the Island of Zeilan the Pilote was deceived, for that the Cape of the Island of Zeilan lieth farre out into the sea, and the Pilot thinking that he might have passed hard aboard the Cape, and paying roomer in the night; when it was morning we were farre within the Cape, and past all remedy to go out, by reason the winds blew so fiercely against us. So that by this meanes we lost our voyage for that yere, and we went to Manar with the ship to winter there, the ship having lost her mastes, and with great diligence we hardly saved her, with great losses to the Captaine of the ship, because he was forced to fraight another ship in S. Tome for Pegu with great losses and interest, and I with my friends agreed together in Manar to take a bark to cary us to S. Tome; which thing we did with al the rest of the marchants; and ariving at S. Tome I had news through or by the way of Bengala, that in Pegu Opium was very deare, and I knew that in S. Tome there was no Opium but mine to go for Pegu that yere, so that I was holden of al the marchants there to be very rich: and so it would have proved, if my adverse fortune had not bin contrary to my hope, which was this. At that time there went a great ship from Cambaya, to the king of Assi, with great quantitie of Opium, & there to lade peper: in which voyage there came such a storme, that the ship was forced with wether to goe roomer 800. miles, and by this meanes came to Pegu, whereas they arived a day before mee; so that Opium which was before very deare, was now at a base price: so that which was sold for fiftie Bizze before, was solde for 2. Bizze & an halfe, there was such quantitie came in that ship; so that I was glad to stay two yeres in Pegu unlesse I would have given away my commoditie: and at the end of two yeres of my 2100. duckets which I bestowed in Cambaya, I made but a thousand duckets. Then I departed againe from Pegu to goe for the Indies and for Ormus with

great quantitie of Lacca, and from Ormus I returned into the Indies for Chaul, and from Chaul to Cochin, and from Cochin to Pegu. Once more I lost occasion to make me riche, for whereas I might have brought good store of Opium againe, I brought but a little, being fearefull of my other voyage before. In this small quantitie I made good profite. And now againe I determined to go for my Countrey, and departing from Pegu, I tarried and wintered in Cochin, and then I left the Indies and came for Ormus.

I thinke it very necessary before I ende my voyage, to reason somewhat, and to shewe what fruits the Indies do yeeld and bring forth. First, in the Indies and other East parts of India there is Peper and ginger, which groweth in all parts of India. And in some parts of the Indies, the greatest quantitie of peper groweth amongst wilde bushes, without any maner of labour: saving, that when it is ripe they goe and gather it. The tree that the peper groweth on is like to our Ivie, which runneth up to the tops of trees wheresoever it groweth: and if it should not take holde of some tree, it would lie flat and rot on the ground. This peper tree hath his floure and berry like in all parts to our Ivie berry, and those berries be graines of peper: so that when they gather them they be greene, and then they lay them in the Sunne, and they become blacke.

The Ginger groweth in this wise: the land is tilled and sowed, and the herbe is like to Panizzo, and the roote is the ginger. These two spices grow in divers places.

The Cloves come all from the Moluccas, which Moluccas are two Islands, not very great, and the tree that they grow on is like to our Lawrell tree.

The Nutmegs and Maces, which grow both together, are brought from the Island of Banda, whose tree is like to our walnut tree, but not so big.

All the good white Sandol is brought from the Island of Timor. Canfora being compound commeth all from China, and all that which groweth in canes commeth from Borneo, & I thinke that this Canfora commeth not into these parts: for that in India they consume great store, and that is very deare. The good Lignum Aloes commeth from Cauchinchina.

The Benjamin commeth from the kingdome of Assi and Sion.



Long peper groweth in Bengala, Pegu, and Java.

Muske commeth from Tartaria, which they make in this order, as by good information I have bene told. There is a certaine beast in Tartaria, which is wilde and as big as a wolfe, which beast they take alive, & beat him to death with small staves y<sup>t</sup> his blood may be spread through his whole body, then they cut it in pieces, & take out all the bones, & beat the flesh with the blood in a mortar very smal, and dry it, and make purses to put it in of the skin, and these be the cods of muske.

Truely I know not whereof the Amber is made, and there are divers opinions of it, but this is most certaine, it is cast out of the Sea, and throwne on land, and found upon the sea bankes.

The Rubies, Saphyres, and the Spinel be gotten in the kingdome of Pegu. The Diamants come from divers places; and I know but three sorts of them. That sort of Diamants that is called Chiappe, commeth from Bezeneger. Those that be pointed naturally come from the land of Delly, and from Java, but the Diamants of Java are more waightie then the other. I could never understand from whence they that are called Balassi come.

Pearles they fish in divers places, as before in this booke is showne.

From Cambaza commeth the Spodium which congeleth in certaine canes, whereof I found many in Pegu, when I made my house there, because that (as I have said before) they make their houses there of woven canes like to mats. From Chaul they trade alongst the coast of Melinde in Ethiopia, within the land of Cafraria: on that coast are many good harbors kept by the Moores. Thither the Portugals bring a kinde of Bombast cloth of a low price, and great store of Paternosters or beads made of paltrie glasse, which they make in Chaul according to the use of the Countrey: and from thence they cary Elephants teeth for India, slaves called Cafari, and some Amber and Gold. On this coast the king of Portugall hath his castle called Mozambique, which is of as great importance as any castle that hee hath in all his Indies under his protection, and the Captaine of this castle hath certaine voyages to this Cafraria, to which places no Marchants may goe, but by the Agent of this Captaine: and they use to goe in small shippes, and trade

with the Cafars, and their trade in buying and selling is without any speach one to the other. In this wise the Portugals bring their goods by litle and litle alongst the Sea coast, and lay them downe: and so depart, and the Cafar Marchants come and see the goods, & there they put downe as much gold as they thinke the goods are worth, and so goe their way and leave their golde and the goods together, then commeth the Portugal, and finding the golde to his content, hee taketh it and goeth his way into his ship, and then commeth the Cafar and taketh the goods and carieth them away: and if he finde the golde there still, it is a signe that the Portugals are not contented, and if the Cafar thinke he hath put too little, he addeth more, as he thinketh the thing is worth: and the Portugales must not stand with them too strickt; for if they doe, then they will have no more trade with them: For they disdaine to be refused, when they thinke that they have offered ynough, for they be a peevish people, and have dealt so of a long time: and by this trade the Portugals change their commodities into gold, and cary it to the Castle of Mozambique, which is in an Island not farre distant from the firme land of Cafraria on the coast of Ethiopia, and is distant from India 2800. miles. Now to returne to my voyage, when I came to Ormus, I found there Master Francis Berettin of Venice, and we fraighted a bark together to goe for Basora for 70. duckets, and with us there went other Marchants, which did ease our freight, and very commodiously wee came to Basora and there we stayed 40. dayes for providing a Carovan of barks to go to Babylon, because they use not to goe two or 3. barkes at once, but 25. or 30. because in the night they cannot go, but must make them fast to the banks of the river, and then we must make a very good & strong guard, and be wel provided of armor, for respect & safegard of our goods, because the number of theeves is great that come to spoile and rob the marchants. And when we depart for Babylon we goe a litle with our saile, and the voyage is 38. or 40. dayes long, but we were 50. dayes on it. When we came to Babylon we stayed there 4. moneths, until the Carovan was ready to go over the wildernes, or desert for Alepo; in this citie we were 6. Marchants that accompanied together, five Venetians and a Portugal; whose names were as followeth, Messer Florinasa with one of

his kinsmen, Messer Andrea de Polo, the Portugal & M. Francis Berettin and I, and so wee furnished our selves with victuals and beanes for our horses for 40. dayes; and wee bought horses and mules, for that they bee very good cheape there, I my selfe bought a horse there for 11. akens, and solde him after in Alepo for 30. duckets. Also we bought a Tent which did us very great pleasure: we had also amongst us 32. Camels laden with marchandise: for the which we paid 2. duckets for every camels lading, and for every 10. camels they made 11, for so is their use and custome. We take also with us 3. men to serve us in the voyage, which are used to goe in those voyages for five D d. a man, and are bound to serve us to Alepo: so that we passed very well without any trouble: when the camels cried out to rest, our pavilion was the first that was erected. The Carovan maketh but small journeis about 20. miles a day, & they set forwards every morning before day two houres, and about two in the afternoone they sit downe. We had great good hap in our voyage, for that it rained: For which cause we never wanted water, but every day found good water, so that we could not take any hurt for want of water. Yet we caried a camel laden alwayes with water for every good respect that might chance in the desert, so that wee had no want neither of one thing, nor other that was to bee had in the countrey. For wee came very well furnished of every thing, and every day we eat fresh mutton, because there came many shepheards with us with their flocks, who kept those sheepe that we bought in Babylon, and every marchant marked his sheepe with his owne marke, and we gave the shepheards a Medin, which is two pence of our money, for the keeping and feeding our sheep on the way, and for killing of them. And beside the Medin they have the heads, the skinnes, and the intrals of every sheepe they kil. We sixe bought 20. sheepe, and when we came to Alepo we had 7. alive of them. And in the Carovan they use this order, that the marchants doe lende flesh one to another, because they will not cary raw flesh with them, but pleasure one another by lending one one day, and another another day.

From Babylon to Alepo is 40. dayes journey, of the which they make 36. dayes over the wildernes, in which 36. dayes they neither see house, trees, nor people that inhabite it, but onely a plaine, and no signe of any way

in the world. The Pilots go before, and the Carovan followeth after. And when they sit downe all the Carovan unladeth and sitteth downe, for they know the stations where the wells are. I say, in 36. dayes we passe over the wilderness. For when wee depart from Babylon two dayes we passe by villages inhabited until we have passed the river Euphrates. And then within two dayes of Alepo we have villages inhabited. In this Carovan there goeth alway a Captaine that doth Justice unto all men: and every night they keepe watch about the Carovan, and comming to Alepo we went to Tripoli, whereas Master Florin, and Master Andrea Polo, and I, with a Frier, went and hired a barke to goe with us to Jerusalem. Departing from Tripolie, we arrived at Jaffa: from which place in a day and halfe we went to Jerusalem, and we gave order to our barke to tary for us untill our returne. Wee stayed in Jerusalem 14. dayes, to visite those holy places: from whence we returned to Jaffa, and from Jaffa to Tripolie, and there wee shipped our selves in a ship of Venice called the Bagazzana: And by the helpe of the divine power, we arrived safely in Venice the fift of November 1581. If there be any that hath any desire to goe into those partes of India, let him not be astonied at the troubles that I have passed: because I was intangled in many things: for that I went very poore from Venice with 1200. duckets employed in marchandize, and when I came to Tripolie, I fell sicke in the house of Master Regaly Oratio, and this man sent away my goods with a small Carovan that went from Tripolie to Alepo, and the Carovan was robd, and all my goods lost saving foure chests of glasses which cost me 200. duckets, of which glasses I found many broken: because the theeves thinking it had bene other marchandize, brake them up, and seeing they were glasses they let them all alone. And with this onely stocke I adventured to goe into the Indies: And thus with change and rechange, and by diligence in my voyage, God did blesse and helpe mee, so that I got a good stocke. I will not be unmindfull to put them in remembrance, that have a desire to goe into those parts, how they shall keepe their goods, and give them to their heires at the time of their death, and howe this may be done very securely. In all the cities that the Portugales have in the Indies, there is a house called the schoole of Sancta misericordia comissaria: the governours

whereof, if you give them for their paines, will take a copy of your will and Testament, which you must alwayes cary about you; and chiefly when you go into the Indies. In the countrey of the Moores and Gentiles, in those voyages alwayes there goeth a Captaine to administer Justice to all Christians of the Portugales. Also this captaine hath authoritie to recover the goods of those Marchants that by chance die in those voyages, and they that have not made their Wills and registred them in the aforesaide schooles, the Captaines wil consume their goods in such wise, that litle or nothing will be left for their heires and friends. Also there goeth in these same voyages some marchants that are commissaries of the schoole of Sancta misericordia, that if any Marchant die and have his Will made, and hath given order that the schoole of Misericordia shall have his goods and sell them, then they sende the money by exchange to the schoole of Misericordia in Lisbone, with that copie of his Testament, then from Lisbon they give intelligence thereof, into what part of Christendome soever it be, and the heires of such a one coming thither, with testimoniall that they be heires, they shall receive there the value of his goods: in such wise that they shall not loose any thing. But they that die in the kingdome of Pegu loose the thirde part of their goods by ancient custome of the Countrey, that if any Christian dieth in the kingdome of Pegu, the king and his officers rest heires of a thirde of his goods, and there hath never bene any deceit or fraude used in this matter. I have knowen many rich men that have dwelled in Pegu, and in their age they have desired to go into their owne Countrey to die there, and have departed with al their goods and substance without let or trouble.

In Pegu the fashion of their apparell is all one, as well the Noble man, as the simple: the onely difference is in the finenes of the cloth, which is cloth of Bombast one finer then another, and they weare their apparell in this wise: First, a white Bombast cloth which serveth for a shirt, then they gird another painted bombast cloth of foureteene brases, which they binde up betwixt their legges, and on their heads they weare a small tock of three braces, made in guize of a myter, and some goe without tocks, and cary (as it were) a hive on their heades, which doeth not passe the lower part of his eare, when it



is lifted up : they goe all bare footed, but the Noble men never goe on foote, but are caried by men in a seate with great reputation, with a hat made of the leaves of a tree to keepe him from the raine and Sunne, or otherwise they ride on horsebacke with their feete bare in the stirops. All sorts of women whatsoever they be, weare a smocke downe to the girdle, and from the girdle downewards to the foote they weare a cloth of three brases, open before ; so strait that they cannot goe, but they must shewe their secret as it were aloft, and in their going they faine to hide it with their hand, but they cannot by reason of the straitnes of their cloth. They say that this use was invented by a Queene to be an occasion that the sight thereof might remove from men the vices against nature, which they are greatly given unto : which sight should cause them to regard women the more. Also the women goe bare footed, their armes laden with hoopoes of golde and Jewels : And their fingers full of precious rings, with their haire rolled up about their heads. Many of them weare a cloth about their shoulders in stead of a cloake.

Now to finish that which I have begunne to write, I say, that those parts of the Indies are very good, because that a man that hath litle, shall make a great deale thereof ; alwayes they must governe themselves that they be taken for honest men. For why ? to such there shal never want helpe to doe wel, but he that is vicious, let him tary at home and not go thither, because he shall alwayes be a begger, and die a poore man.

Letters concerning the voyage of M. John Newbery and M. Ralph Fitch, made by the way of the Levant Sea to Syria, and overland to Balsara, and thence into the East Indies, and beyond, In the yeere 1583.

A letter written from the Queenes Majestie, to Zelabdim Echebar, King of Cambaia, and sent by John Newbery. In February Anno 1583.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God, &c. To the most invincible, and most mightie prince, lord Zelabdim Echebar king of Cambaya. Invincible Emperor, &c. The great affection which our Subjects have, to visit the most distant places of the world, not without good will and intention to introduce the trade of marchandize of al nations whatsoever they can, by which meanes the mutual and friendly trafique of marchandize on both sides may

come, is the cause that the bearer of this letter John Newbery, joyntly with those that be in his company, with a curteous and honest boldnesse, doe repaire to the borders and countreys of your Empire, we doubt not but that your imperial Majestie through your royal grace, will favourably and friendly accept him. And that you would doe it the rather for our sake, to make us greatly behold-ing to your Majestie; wee should more earnestly, and with more wordes require it, if wee did think it needful. But by the singular report that is of your imperial Majesties humanitie in these uttermost parts of the world, we are greatly eased of that burden, and therefore we use the fewer and lesse words: onely we request that because they are our subjects, they may be honestly intreated and received. And that in respect of the hard journey which they have undertaken to places so far distant, it would please your Majestie with some libertie and securitie of voiage to gratifie it, with such privileges as to you shall seeme good: which curtesie if your Imperiall majestie shal to our subjects at our requests performe, wee, according to our royall honour, wil recompence the same with as many deserts as we can. And herewith we bid your Imperial Majestie to farewel.

A letter written by her Majestie to the King of China, in Februarie 1583.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God Queene of England, &c. Most Imperial and invincible prince, our honest subject John Newbery the bringer hereof, who with our favour hath taken in hand the voyage which now hee pursueth to the parts and countreys of your Empire, not trusting upon any other ground then upon the favour of your Imperiall clemencie and humanitie, is mooved to undertake a thing of so much difficultie, being perswaded that hee having entred into so many perils, your Majestie will not dislike the same, especially, if it may appeare that it be not damageable unto your royall Majestie, and that to your people it will bring some profite: of both which things he not doubting, with more willing minde hath prepared himselfe for his destinated voyage unto us well liked of. For by this meanes we perceive, that the profit which by the mutual trade on both sides, al the princes our neighbors in ye West do receive, your Imperial majestie & those that be subject under your dominion, to their

great joy and benefit shal have the same, which consisteth in the transporting outward of such things whereof we have plenty, & in bringing in such things as we stand in need of. It cannot otherwise be, but that seeing we are borne and made to have need one of another, & that wee are bound to aide one another, but that your imperial Majestie wil wel like of it, & by your subjects w<sup>t</sup> like indevor wil be accepted. For the increase whereof, if your imperial Majestie shall adde the securitie of passage, with other privileges most necessary to use the trade with your men, your majestie shall doe that which belongeth to a most honorable & liberal prince, and deserve so much of us, as by no continuance or length of time shalbe forgotten. Which request of ours we do most instantly desire to be taken in good part of your majestie, and so great a benefit towards us & our men, we shall endeavor by diligence to requite when time shal serve thereunto. The God Almighty long preserve your Imperial majestie.

A letter of M. John Newbery, written from Alepo, to M. Richard Hakluit of Oxford, the 28. of May, Anno 1583.

RIGHT welbeloved, and my assured good friend, I heartily commend me unto you, hoping of your good health, &c. After we set saile from Gravesend, which was the 13. day of February last, wee remained upon our coast untill the 11. day of March, and that day we set saile from Falmouth, and never ankered till wee arrived in the road of Tripolie in Syria, which was the last day of Aprill last past, where wee stayed 14. dayes : and the twentie of this present we came hither to Alepo, and with Gods helpe, within five or sixe dayes goe from hence towards the Indies. Since my comming to Tripolis I have made very earnest inquirie both there and here, for the booke of Cosmographie of Abilfada Ismael, but by no meanes can heare of it. Some say that possibly it may be had in Persia, but notwithstanding I will not faile to make inquirie for it, both in Babylon, and in Balsara, and if I can finde it in any of these places, I wil send it you from thence. The letter which you delivered me for to copy out, that came from M. Thomas Stevens in Goa, as also the note you gave mee of Francis Fernandes the Portugal, I brought thence with me among other writings unawares, the which I have sent you here inclosed. Here is great

preparation for the warres in Persia, and from hence is gone the Bassa of a towne called Rahemet, and shortly after goeth the Bassa of Tripolis, and the Bassa of Damasco, but they have not all with them above 6000. men from hence, and they goe to a towne called Asmerome, which is three dayes journey from Trapezunde, where they shal meete with divers captaines and souldiers that come from Constantinople and other places thereabout, which goe altogether into Persia. This yeere many men goe into the warres, and so hath there every yeere since the beginning thereof, which is eight yeeres or thereabouts, but very fewe of them returne againe. Notwithstanding, they get of the Persians, and make castles and holds in their countrey. I pray you make my hearty commendations to master Peter Guillame, and master Philip Jones, and to M. Walter Warner, and to all the rest of our friends. Master Fitch hath him heartily commended unto you : and so I commit you to the tuition of the Almighty, who blesse and keepe you, and send us a joyfull meeting. From Alepo, the 28. of May 1583.

Your loving friend to command in all that I may.

John Newberie.

Another letter of the said M. Newberie, written to Master Leonard Poore of London, from Alepo.

RIGHT welbeloved, my very heartie commendations unto you, and the rest of my friends remembred. My last I sent you was the 25. of February last, from Dele out of the Downes, after which time with contrary windes wee remained upon our owne coast, untill the 11. day of March, and then wee set saile from Falmouth, and the thirteenth day the winde came contrary with a very great storme, which continued eight dayes, and in this great storme wee had some of our goods wette, but God bee thanked no great hurt done. After which time we sailed with a faire wind within the Streights, and so remained at Sea, and ankered at no place until our comming into the roade of Tripolis in Syria, which was the last day of April. This was a very good passage. God make us thankfull for it. The foureteenth day of this present wee came from Tripolis, and the twentieth day arrived here in Alepo, and with the helpe of God to morrowe or next day, wee beginne our voyage towards Babylon and Balsara, and so into India. Our friend Master Barret hath him com-

mended to you, who hath sent you in the Emanuel a ball of Nutmegs for the small trifles you sent him, which I hope long since you have received. Also hee hath by his letter certified you in what order hee solde those things, whereof I can say nothing, because I have not seene the accompt thereof, neither have demanded it: for ever since our comming hither hee hath bene still busie about the dispatch of the shippe, and our voyage, and I likewise in buying of things here to cary to Balsara, and the Indies. Wee have bought in currall for 1200. and odde ducats, and amber for foure hundreth ducates, and some sope and broken glasse, with all other small trifles, all which things I hope will serve very wel for those places that wee shall goe unto. All the rest of the accompt of the Barke Reinolds was sent home in the Emanuel, which was 3600. ducats, which is 200. pound more then it was rated. For master Staper rated it but 1100. li. and it is 1300. pound, so that our part is 200. pound. Besides such profit as it shall please God to sende thereof: wherefore you shall doe very well to speake to M. Staper for the accompt. And if you would content your selfe to travell for three or foure yeeres, I would wish you to come hither or goe to Cairo, if any goe thither. For wee doubt not if you had remained there but three or foure moneths, you would like so well of the place, that I thinke you would not desire to returne againe in three or foure yeeres. And, if it should be my chance to remaine in any place out of England, I would choose this before all other that I know. My reason is, the place is healthfull and pleasant, and the gaines very good, and no doubt the profit will bee hereafter better, things being used in good order: for there should come in every ship the fourth part of her Cargason in money, which would helpe to put away our commodities at a very good price. Also to have two very good ships to come together, would doe very well: for in so doing, the danger of the voyage might be accompted as little as from London to Antwerpe. Master Giles Porter and master Edmund Porter, went from Tripolis in a small barke to Jaffa, the same day that we came from thence, which was the 14 day of this present, so that no doubt but long since they are in Jerusalem: God send them and us safe returne. At this instant I have received the account of M. Barret, and the rest of the rings, with two and twentie duckats, two medines in



readie money. So there is nothing remaining in his hands but a few bookes, and with Thomas Bostocke I left certaine small trifles, which I pray you demaund. And so once againe with my hearty commendations I commit you to the tuition of the almightie, who alwayes preserve us. From Aleppo the 29 of May 1583.

Yours assured, John Newberie.

Another letter of Master Newberie to the aforesaide  
M. Poore, written from Babylon.

My last I sent you, was the 29 of May last past from Aleppo, by George Gill the purser of the Tiger, which the last day of the same moneth came from thence, & arrived at Feluge the 19 day of June, which Feluge is one dayes journey from hence. Notwithstanding some of our company came not hither till the last day of the last moneth, which was for want of Camels to cary our goods: for at this time of the yeere, by reason of the great heate that is here, Camels are very scant to be gotten. And since our comming hither we have found very small sales, but divers say that in the winter our commodities will be very well sold, I pray God their words may proove true. I thinke cloth, kersies & tinne, have never bene here at so low prices as they are now. Notwithstanding, if I had here so much readie money as the commodities are woorth, I would not doubt to make a very good profite of this voiage hither, and to Balsara, and so by Gods helpe there will be reasonable profite made of the voiage. But with halfe money & halfe commoditie, may be bought here the best sort of spices, and other commodities that are brought from the Indies, and without money there is here at this instant small good to be done. With Gods helpe two dayes hence, I minde to goe from hence to Balsara, and from thence of force I must goe to Ormus for want of a man that speaketh the Indian tongue. At my being in Aleppo I hired two Nazaranies, and one of them hath bene twise in the Indies, and hath the language very well, but he is a very lewde fellow, and therefore I will not take him with me.

Here follow the prices of wares as they are worth here  
at this instant.

CLOVES and Maces, the bateman, 5 duckats.

Cynamom 6 duckats, and few to be gotten.

Nutmegs, the bateman, 45 medins, and 40 medins maketh a duckat.

Ginger 40 medins.

Pepper, 75 medins.

Turbetta, the bateman, 50 medins.

Neel the churle, 70 duckats, and a churle is 27 rottills and a halfe of Aleppo.

Silke, much better then that which commeth from Persia, 11 duckats and a halfe the bateman, and every bateman here maketh 7 pound and 5 ounces English waight. From Babylon the 20 day of July, 1583.

Yours, John Newberie.

Master Newberie his letter from Ormus, to M. John Eldred and William Shals at Balsara.

RIGHT welbeloved and my assured good friends, I heartily commend me unto you, hoping of your good healths, &c. To certifie you of my voiage, after I departed from you, time wil not permit: but the 4 of this present we arrived here, & the 10 day I with the rest were committed to prison, and about the middle of the next moneth, the Captaine wil send us all in his ship for Goa. The cause why we are taken, as they say, is, for that I brought letters from Don Antonio. But the trueth is, Michael Stropene was the onely cause, upon letters that his brother wrote him from Aleppo. God knoweth how we shall be delt withall in Goa, and therfore if you can procure our masters to send the king of Spaine his letters for our releasement, you should doe us great good: for they cannot with justice put us to death. It may be that they will cut our throtes, or keepe us long in prison: Gods will be done. All those commodities that I brought hither, had beene very well sold, if this trouble had not chanced. You shall do well to send with all speed a messenger by land from Balsara to Aleppo, for to certifie of this mischance, although it cost thirtie or forty crownes, for that we may be the sooner released, and I shalbe the better able to recover this againe which is now like to be lost: I pray you make my hearty commendations, &c. From out of the prison in Ormuz, this 21 of September, 1583.

His second Letter to the foresaid Master John Eldred  
and William Shales.

THE barke of the Jewes is arrived here two daies past, by whom I know you did write, but your letters are not like to come to my handes. This bringer hath shewed me here very great courtesie, wherfore I pray you shew him what favor you may. About the middle of the next moneth I thinke we shall depart from hence, God be our guide. I thinke Andrew will goe by land to Aleppo, wherein I pray you further him what you may: but if he should not goe, then I pray you dispatch away a messenger with as much speede as possible you may. I can say no more, but do for me as you would I should do for you in the like cause, and so with my very hearty commendations, &c. From out of the prison in Ormuz, this 24 day of September, 1583.

Yours, John Newberie.

His third Letter to Maister Leonard Poore, written from  
Goa.

My last I sent you was from Ormuz, wherby I certified you what had happened there unto me, and the rest of my company, which was, that foure dayes after our arrivall there, we were all committed to prison, except one Italian which came with me from Aleppo, whom the Captaine never examined, onely demaunded what countryman he was, but I make account Michael Stropene, who accused us, had informed the Captaine of him. The first day we arrived there, this Stropene accused us that we were spies sent from Don Antonio, besides divers other lies: notwithstanding if we had beene of any other countrey then of England, we might freely have traded with them. And although we be Englishmen, I know no reason to the contrary, but that we may trade hither and thither as well as other nations, for all nations doe, and may come freely to Ormuz, as Frenchmen, Flemmings, Almaines, Hungarians, Italians, Greekes, Armenians, Nazaranies, Turkes and Moores, Jewes & Gentiles, Persians, Moscovites, and there is no nation that they seeke for to trouble, except ours: wherfore it were contrary to all justice and reason that they should suffer all nations to trade with them, and to forbid us. But now I have as great liberty as any other nation, except it be to go out

of the countrey, which thing as yet I desire not. But I thinke hereafter, and before it be long, if I shall be desirous to go from hence, that they wil not deny me licence. Before we might be suffered to come out of prison, I was forced to put in suerties for 2000 pardaus, not to depart from hence without licence of the viceroy: otherwise except this, we have as much libertie as any other nation, for I have our goods againe, & have taken an house in the chieftest streete in the towne, called the Rue drette, where we sell our goods.

There were two causes which moved the captaine of Ormus to imprison us, & afterwards to send us hither. The first was, because Michael Stropene had accused us of many matters, which were most false. And the second was for that M. Drake at his being at Maluco, caused two pieces of his ordinance to be shot at a gallion of the kings of Portugall, as they say. But of these things I did not know at Ormus: and in the ship that we were sent in came the chieftest justice in Ormus, who was called Aveador generall of that place, he had beene there three yeeres, so that now his time was expired: which Aveador is a great friend to the captaine of Ormus, who, certaine dayes after our comming from thence, sent for mee into his chamber, and there beganne to demaund of me many things, to the which I answered: and amongst the rest, he said, that Master Drake was sent out of England with many ships, and came to Maluco, and there laded cloves, and finding a gallion there of the kings of Portugall, hee caused two pieces of his greatest ordinance to be shot at the same: and so perceiving that this did greatly grieve them, I asked, if they would be revenged of me for that which M. Drake had done? To the which he answered, No: although his meaning was to the contrary.

He said moreover, that the cause why the captaine of Ormus did send me for Goa, was, for that the Viceroy would understand of mee, what newes there was of Don Antonio, and whether he were in England, yea or no, and that it might be all for the best that I was sent hither, the which I trust in God wil so fall out, although contrary to his expectation: for had it not pleased God to put into the minds of the archbishop and other two Padres or Jesuits of S. Pauls colledge to stand our friends, we might have rotted in prison. The archbishop is a very

good man, who hath two yong men to his servantes, the one of them was borne at Hamborough, and is called Bernard Borgers : and the other was borne at Enchuysen, whose name is John Linscot, who did us great pleasure : for by them the archbishop was many times put in minde of us. And the two good fathers of S. Paul, who travelled very much for us, the one of them is called Padre Marke, who was borne in Bruges in Flanders, and the other was borne in Wiltshire in England, and is called Padre Thomas Stevens.

Also I chanced to finde here a young man, who was borne in Antwerpe, but the most part of his bringing up hath beene in London, his name is Francis de Rea, and with him it was my hap to be acquainted in Aleppo, who also hath done me great pleasure here.

In the prison at Ormus we remained many dayes, also we lay a long time at sea comming hither, and forthwith at our arrivall here were caried to prison, and the next day after were sent for before the Aveador, who is the chieftest justice, to be examined : and when we were examined, he presently sent us backe againe to prison.

And after our being here in prison 13 daies, James Storie went into the monastery of S. Paul, where he remaineth, and is made one of the company, which life he liketh very well.

And upon S. Thomas day (which was 22 dayes after our arrivall here) I came out of prison, and the next day after came out Ralph Fitch, and William Bets.

If these troubles had not chanced, I had beene in possibility to have made as good a voyage as ever any man made with so much money. Many of our things I have solde very well, both here and at Ormus in prison, notwithstanding the captaine willed me (if I would) to sell what I could before we embarked : & so with officers I went divers times out of the castle in the morning, and solde things, and at night returned againe to the prison, and all things that I solde they did write, and at our imbarcking from thence, the captain gave order that I should deliver all my mony with the goods into the hands of the scrivano, or purser of the ship, which I did, and the scrivano made a remembrance, which he left there with the captaine, that my selfe and the rest with money & goods he should deliver into the hands of the Aveador generall of India : but at our arrivall here, the Aveador



would neither meddle with goods nor money, for that he could not prove any thing against us: wherefore the goods remained in the ship 9 or 10 daies after our arrivall, and then, for that the ship was to saile from thence, the scrivano sent the goods on shore, and here they remained a day and a night, and no body to receive them. In the end they suffered this bringer to receive them, who came with me from Ormus, and put them into an house which he had hired for me, where they remained foure or five daies. But afterward when they should deliver the money, it was concluded by the justice, that both the money and goods should be delivered into the positors hands, where they remained fourteene dayes after my comming out of prison. At my being in Aleppo, I bought a fountaine of silver and gilt, sixe knives, sixe spoones, and one forke trimmed with corall for five and twentie chekins, which the captaine of Ormus did take, and payed for the same twentie pardaos, which is one hundred larines, and was worth there or here one hundred chekins. Also he had five emrauds set in golde, which were woorth five hundred or sixe hundred crownes, and payed for the same an hundred pardaos. Also he had nineteene and a halfe pikes of cloth, which cost in London twenty shillings the pike, and was worth 9 or 10 crownes the pike, and he payed for the same twelve larines a pike. Also he had two pieces of greene Kersies, which were worth foure and twentie pardaos the piece, and payd for them sixteene pardaos a piece: besides divers other trifles, that the officers and others had in the like order, and some for nothing at all. But the cause of all this was Michael Stropene, which came to Ormus not woorth a penie, and now hath thirtie or fortie thousand crownes, and he grieveth that any other stranger should trade thither but himselfe. But that shall not skill, for I trust in God to goe both thither and hither, and to buy and sell as freely as he or any other. Here is very great good to be done in divers of our commodities, and in like manner there is great profite to be made with commodities of this countrey, to be carried to Aleppo.

It were long for me to write, and tedious for you to read of all things that have passed since my parting from you. But of all the troubles that have chanced since mine arrivall in Ormus, this bringer is able to certifie you. I mind to stay here: wherefore if you will write

unto me, you may send your letters to some friend at Lisbon, & from thence by the ships they may be conveyed hither. Let the direction of your letters be either in Portuguese or Spanish, whereby they may come the better to my hands. From Goa this 20 day of Januarie. 1584.

A Letter written from Goa by Master Ralph Fitch to Master Leonard Poore abovesaid.

LOVING friend Master Poore, &c. Since my departure from Aleppo, I have not written unto you any letters, by reason that at Babylon I was sicke of the fluxe, and being sicke, I went from thence for Balsara, which was twelve dayes journey downe the river Tygris, where we had extreame hot weather, which was good for my disease, ill fare, and worse lodging, by reason our boat was pestered with people. In eight daies, that which I did eate was very small, so that if we had stayed two dayes longer upon the water, I thinke I had died: but comming to Balsara, presently I mended, I thanke God. There we stayed 14 dayes, and then we imbarked our selves for Ormuz, where we arrived the fifth of September, and were put in prison the ninth of the same moneth, where we continued untill the 11 of October, and then were shipt for this citie of Goa in the captaines ship, with an 114 horses, and about 200 men: and passing by Diu & Chaul, where we went on land to water the 20 of November, we arrived at Goa the 29 of the said moneth, where for our better intertainment we were presently put into a faire strong prison, where we continued untill the 22 of December. It was the will of God that we found there 2 Padres, the one an Englishman, the other a Flemming. The Englishmans name is Padre Thomas Stevens, the others Padre Marco, of the order of S. Paul. These did sue for us unto the Viceroy and other officers, and stood us in as much stead, as our lives and goods were woorth: for if they had not stucked to us, if we had escaped with our lives, yet we had had long imprisonment.

After 14 dayes imprisonment they offered us, if we could put in suerties for 2000 duckats, we should goe abroad in the towne: which when we could not doe, the said Padres found suerties for us, that we should not depart the countrey without the licence of the Viceroy. It doth spite the Italians to see us abroad: and many marvell at our delivery. The painter is in the cloister of

S. Paul, and is of their order, and liketh there very well. While we were in prison, both at Ormuz and here, there was a great deale of our goods pilfered and lost, and we have beene at great charges in gifts and otherwise, so that a great deale of our goods is consumèd. There is much of our things which wil sell very well, & some we shall get nothing for. I hope in God that at the returne of the Viceroy, which is gone to Chaul and to Diu, they say, to winne a castle of the Moores, whose returne is thought will be about Easter, then we shall get our libertie, and our suerties discharged. Then I thinke it wil be our best way, either one or both to returne, because our troubles have bene so great, & so much of our goods spoyled and lost. But if it please God that I come into England, by Gods helpe, I will returne hither againe. It is a brave and pleasant countrey, and very fruitfull. The summer is almost all the yeere long, but the chiefest at Christmas.

The day and the night are all of one length, very litle difference, and marvellous great store of fruits. For all our great troubles, yet are we fat and well liking, for victuals are here plentie and good cheape. And here I will passe over to certifie you of strange things, untill our meeting, for it would be too long to write thereof. And thus I commit you to God, who ever preserve you and us all. From Goa in the East Indies the 25 of Januarie 1584.

Yours to command, Ralph Fitch.

The voyage of M. Ralph Fitch marchant of London by the way of Tripolis in Syria, to Ormus, and so to Goa in the East India, to Cambaia, and all the kingdome of Zelabdim Echebar the great Mogor, to the mighty river Ganges, and downe to Bengala, to Bacola, and Chonderi, to Pegu, to Imahay in the kingdome of Siam, and backe to Pegu, and from thence to Malacca, Zeilan, Cochin, and all the coast of the East India: begunne in the yeere of our Lord 1583, and ended 1591, wherein the strange rites, maners, and customes of those people, and the exceeding rich trade and commodities of those countries are faithfully set downe and diligently described, by the aforesaid M. Ralph Fitch.

In the yeere of our Lord 1583, I Ralph Fitch of London marchant being desirous to see the countreys of the East

India, in the company of M. John Newberie marchant (which had beene at Ormus once before) of William Leedes Jeweller, and James Story Painter, being chiefly set foorth by the right worshipfull Sir Edward Osborne knight, and M. Richard Staper citizens and marchants of London, did ship my selfe in a ship of London called the Tyger, wherein we went for Tripolis in Syria: & from thence we tooke the way for Aleppo, which we went in seven dayes with the Carovan. Being in Aleppo, and finding good company, we went from thence to Birra, which is two dayes and an halfe travaile with Camels.

Birra is a little towne, but very plentifull of victuals: and neere to the wall of the towne runneth the river of Euphrates. Here we bought a boate and agreed with a master and bargemen, for to go to Babylon. These boats be but for one voiage; for the streame doth runne so fast downewardes that they cannot returne. They carie you to a towne which they call Felugia, and there you sell the boate for a litle money, for that which cost you fiftie at Birra you sell there for seven or eight. From Birra to Felugia is sixteene dayes journey, it is not good that one boate goe alone, for if it should chance to breake, you should have much a doe to save your goods from the Arabians, which be alwayes there abouts robbing: and in the night when your boates be made fast, it is necessarie that you keepe good watch. For the Arabians that bee theeves, will come swimming and steale your goods and flee away, against which a gunne is very good, for they doe feare it very much. In the river of Euphrates from Birra to Felugia there be certaine places where you pay custome, so many Medines for a some or Camels lading, and certaine raysons and sope, which is for the sonnes of Aborise, which is Lord of the Arabians and all that great desert, and hath some villages upon the river. Felugia where you unlade your goods which come from Birra is a little village: from whence you goe to Babylon in a day.

Babylon is a towne not very great but very populous, and of great traffike of strangers, for that it is the way to Persia, Turkia and Arabia: and from thence doe goe Carovans for these and other places. Here are great store of victuals, which come from Armenia downe the river of Tygris. They are brought upon raftes made of goates skinnes blowne full of winde and bordes layde upon

them: and thereupon they lade their goods which are brought downe to Babylon, which being discharged they open their skinnes, and carry them backe by Camels, to serve another time. Babylon in times past did belong to the kingdome of Persia, but nowe is subject to the Turke. Over against Babylon there is a very faire village from whence you passe to Babylon upon a long bridge made of boats, and tyed to a great chaine of yron, which is made fast on either side of the river. When any boates are to passe up or downe the river, they take away certaine of the boates untill they be past.

The Tower of Babel is built on this side the river Tygris, towards Arabia from the towne about seven or eight miles, which tower is ruinated on all sides, and with the fall thereof hath made as it were a litle mountaine, so that it hath no shape at all: it was made of bricke dried in the sonne, and certaine canes and leaves of the palme tree layed betwixt the bricke. There is no entrance to be seene to goe into it. It doth stand upon a great plaine betwixt the rivers of Euphrates and Tygris.

By the river Euphrates two dayes journey from Babylon at a place called Ait, in a felde neere unto it, is a strange thing to see: a mouth that doth continually throwe forth against the ayre boyling pitch with a filthy smoke: which pitch doth runne abroad into a great felde which is alwayes full thereof. The Moores say that it is the mouth of hell. By reason of the great quantitie of it, the men of that countrey doe pitch their boates two or three inches thicke on the out side, so that no water doth enter into them. Their boates be called Danec. When there is great store of water in Tygris you may goe from Babylon to Basora in 8 or 9 dayes: if there be small store it will cost you the more dayes.

Basora in times past was under the Arabians, but now is subject to the Turke. But some of them the Turke cannot subdue, for that they holde certaine Ilandes in the river Euphrates which the Turke cannot winne of them. They be theeves all and have no settled dwelling, but remove from place to place with their Camels, goates, and horses, wives and children and all. They have large blew gownes, their wives eares and noses are ringed very full of rings of copper and silver, and they weare rings of copper about their legs.

Basora standeth neere the gulfes of Persia, and is a



towne of great trade of spices and drugges which come from Ormus. Also there is great store of wheate, ryce, and dates growing thereabout, wherewith they serve Babylon and all the countrey, Ormus, and all the partes of India. I went from Basora to Ormus downe the gulfe of Persia in a certaine shippe made of boordes, and sowed together with cayro, which is threede made of the huske of Coccoes, and certaine canes or strawe leaves sowed upon the seames of the bordes which is the cause that they leake very much. And so having Persia alwayes on the left hande, and the coast of Arabia on the right hande we passed many Ilandes, and among others the famous Ilande Baharim from whence come the best pearles which be round and Orient.

Ormus is an Island in circuit about five and twentie or thirtie miles, and is the driest Island in the world: for there is nothing growing in it but onely salt; for their water, wood, or victuals, and all things necessary come out of Persia, which is about twelve miles from thence. All the Ilands thereabout be very fruitfull, from whence all kinde of victuals are sent unto Ormus. The Portugales have a castle here which standeth neere unto the sea, wherein there is a Captaine for the king of Portugale having under him a convenient number of souldiers, wherof some part remaine in the castle, and some in the towne. In this towne are marchants of all Nations, and many Moores and Gentiles. Here is very great trade of all sortes of spices, drugs, silke, cloth of silke, fine tapes-trie of Persia, great store of pearles which come from the Isle of Baharim, and are the best pearles of all others, and many horses of Persia, which serve all India. They have a Moore to their king, which is chosen and governed by the Portugales. Their women are very strangely attyred, wearing on their noses, eares, neckes, armes and legges many rings set with jewels, and lockes of silver and golde in their eares, and a long barre of golde upon the side of their noses. Their eares with the weight of their jewels be worne so wide, that a man may thrust three of his fingers into them. Here very shortly after our arrivall wee were put in prison, and had part of our goods taken from us by the Captaine of the castle, whose name was Don Mathias de Albuquerque; and from hence the eleventh of October he shipped us and sent us for Goa unto the Viceroy, which at that time was Don Francisco





# CONSTANTINOPE

From "Civitates Orbis Terrarum" by  
G. Braun and F. Hogenbery (1573)

de Mascarenhas. The shippe wherein we were imbarked for Goa belonged to the Captaine, and carried one hundred twentie and foure horses in it. All marchandise carried to Goa in a shippe wherein are horses pay no custome in Goa. The horses pay custome, the goods pay nothing; but if you come in a ship which bringeth no horses, you are then to pay eight in the hundred for your goods. The first citie of India that we arrived at upon the fift of November, after we had passed the coast of Zindi, is called Diu, which standeth in an Iland in the kingdome of Cambaia, and is the strongest towne that the Portugales have in those partes. It is but litle, but well stored with marchandise; for here they lade many great shippes with diverse commodities for the streits of Mecca, for Ormus, and other places, and these be shippes of the Moores and of Christians. But the Moores cannot passe, except they have a passeport from the Portugales. Cambaietta is the chiefe citie of that province, which is great and very populous, and fairely builded for a towne of the Gentiles: but if there happen any famine, the people will sell their children for very little. The last king of Cambaia was Sultan Badu, which was killed at the siege of Diu, and shortly after his citie was taken by the great Mogor, which is the king of Agra and of Delli, which are fortie dayes journey from the country of Cambaia. Here the women weare upon their armes infinite numbers of rings made of Elephants teeth, wherein they take so much delight, that they had rather be without their meate then without their bracelets. Going from Diu we come to Daman the second towne of the Portugales in the countrey of Cambaia which is distant from Diu fortie leagues. Here is no trade but of corne and rice. They have many villages under them which they quietly possesse in time of peace, but in time of warre the enemie is maister of them. From thence we passed by Basaim, and from Basaim to Tana, at both which places is small trade but only of corne and rice. The tenth of November we arrived at Chaul which standeth in the firme land. There be two townes, the one belonging to the Portugales, and the other to the Moores. That of the Portugales is neerest to the sea, and commaundeth the bay, and is walled round about. A little above that is the towne of the Moores which is governed by a Moore king called Xa-Maluco. Here is great traffike for all sortes of spices

and drugges, silke, and cloth of silke, sandales, Elephants teeth, and much China worke, and much sugar which is made of the nutte called Gagara: the tree is called the palmer: which is the profitablest tree in the worlde: it doth alwayes beare fruit, and doth yeeld wine, oyle, sugar, vinegar, cordes, coles, of the leaves are made thatch for the houses, sayles for shippes, mats to sit or lie on: of the branches they make their houses, and broomes to sweepe, of the tree wood for shippes. The wine doeth issue out of the toppe of the tree. They cut a branch of a bowe and binde it hard, and hange an earthen pot upon it, which they emptie every morning and every evening, and still it and put in certaine dried raysins, and it becommeth very strong wine in short time. Hither many shippes come from all partes of India, Ormus, and many from Mecca: heere be manie Moores and Gentiles. They have a very strange order among them, they worshippe a cowe, and esteeme much of the coves dounge to paint the walles of their houses. They will kill nothing not so much as a louse: for they holde it a sinne to kill any thing. They eate no flesh, but live by rootes, and ryce, and milke. And when the husbände dieth his wife is burned with him, if shee be alive: if shee will not, her head is shaven, and then is never any account made of her after. They say if they should be buried, it were a great sinne, for of their bodies there would come many wormes and other vermine, and when their bodies were consumed, those wormes would lacke sustenance, which were a sinne, therefore they will be burned. In Cambaia they will kill nothing, nor have any thing killed: in the towne they have hospitals to keepe lame dogs and cats, and for birds. They will give meat to the Ants.

Goa is the most principal citie which the Portugals have in India, wherin the Viceroy remaineth with his court. It standeth in an Iland, which may be 25. or 30. miles about. It is a fine citie, and for an Indian towne very faire. The Iland is very faire, full of orchards and gardens, and many palmer trees, and hath some villages. Here bee many marchants of all nations. And the Fleete which commeth every yeere from Portugal, which be foure, five, or sixe great shippes, commeth first hither. And they come for the most part in September, and remaine there fortie or fiftie dayes; and then goe to Cochín, where they lade their Pepper for Portugal.



Oftentimes they lade one in Goa, the rest goe to Cochin which is from Goa an hundred leagues southward. Goa standeth in the countrey of Hidalcan, who lieth in the countrey sixe or seven dayes journey. His chiefe citie is called Bisapor. At our comming we were cast into the prison, and examined before the Justice and demanded for letters, and were charged to be spies, but they could proove nothing by us. We continued in prison untill the two and twentie of December, and then we were set at libertie, putting in sureties for two thousand duckats not to depart the towne; which sureties father Stevens an English Jesuite which we found there, & another religious man a friend of his procured for us. Our sureties name was Andreas Taborer, to whom we paid 2150. duckats, and still he demaunded more: whereupon we made sute to the Viceroy and Justice to have our money againe, considering that they had had it in their hands neere five moneths and could proove nothing against us. The Viceroy made us a very sharpe answere, and sayd we should be better sifted before it were long, and that they had further matter against us. Whereupon we presently determined rather to seeke our liberties, then to bee in danger for ever to be slaves in the country, for it was told us we should have ye strapado. Wherupon presently, the fift day of April 1585. in the morning we ranne from thence. And being set over the river, we went two dayes on foote not without feare, not knowing the way nor having any guide, for we durst trust none. One of the first townes which we came unto, is called Bellergeran, where there is a great market kept of Diamants, Rubies, Saphires, and many other soft stones. From Bellergeran we went to Bisapor which is a very great towne where the king doeth keepe his court. Hee hath many Gentiles in his court and they bee great idolaters. And they have their idols standing in the Woods, which they call Pagodes. Some bee like a Cowe, some like a Monkie, some like Buffles, some like peacockes, and some like the devill. Here be very many elephants which they goe to warre withall. Here they have good store of gold and silver: their houses are of stone very faire and high. From hence wee went for Gulconda, the king whereof is called Cutup de lashach. Here and in the kingdome of Hidalcan, and in the countrey of the king of Decan bee the Diamants found of the olde water. It is a very faire

towne, pleasant, with faire houses of bricke and timber, it aboundeth with great store of fruites and fresh water. Here the men and the women do go with a cloth bound about their middles without any more apparell. We found it here very hote.

The winter beginneth here about the last of May. In these partes is a porte or haven called Masulipatan, which standeth eight dayes journey from hence toward the gulfe of Bengala, whether come many shippes out of India, Pegu, and Sumatra, very richly laden with Pepper, spices, and other commodities. The countrie is very good and fruitfull. From thence I went to Servidore which is a fine countrey, and the king is called, the king of Bread. The houses here bee all thatched and made of lome. Here be many Moores and Gentiles, but there is small religion among them. From thence I went to Bellapore, and so to Barrampore, which is in the country of Zelabdim Echebar. In this place their money is made of a kind of silver round and thicke, to the value of twentie pence, which is very good silver. It is marveilous great and a populous countrey. In their winter which is in June, July, and August, there is no passing in the streetes but with horses, the waters be so high. The houses are made of lome and thatched. Here is great store of cotton cloth made, and painted clothes of cotton wooll: here groweth great store of corne and Rice. We found mariages great store both in townes and villages in many places where wee passed, of boyes of eight or ten yeeres, and girles of five or six yeeres old. They both do ride upon one horse very trimly decked, and are caried through the townes with great piping and playing, and so returne home and eate of a banquet made of Rice and fruits, and there they daunce the most part of the night and so make an ende of the marriage. They lie not together untill they be ten yeeres old. They say they marry their children so yong, because it is an order that when the man dieth, the woman must be burned with him: so that if the father die, yet they may have a father in lawe to helpe to bring up the children which bee married: and also that they will not leave their sonnes without wives, nor their daughters without husbands. From thence we went to Mandoway, which is a very strong townes. It was besieged twelve yeeres by Zelabdim Echebar before hee could winne it. It standeth upon a very great high rocke

as the most part of their castles doe, and was of a very great circuite. From hence wee went to Ugini and Serringe, where wee overtooke the ambassadour of Zelabdim Echebar with a marveilous great company of men, elephants, and camels. Here is great trade of cotton and cloth made of cotton, and great store of drugs. From thence we went to Agra passing many rivers, which by reason of the raine were so swollen, that wee waded and swamme oftentimes for our lives. Agra is a very great citie and populous, built with stone, having faire and large streetes, with a faire river running by it, which falleth into the gulfes of Bengala. It hath a faire castle and a strong with a very faire ditch. Here bee many Moores and Gentiles, the king is called Zelabdim Echebar : the people for the most part call him The great Mogor. From thence we went for Fatepore, which is the place where the king kept his court. The towne is greater then Agra, but the houses and streetes be not so faire. Here dwell many people both Moores and Gentiles. The king hath in Agra and Fatepore as they doe credibly report 1000. elephants, thirtie thousand horses, 1400. tame Deere, 800. concubines : such store of Ounces, Tigers, Buffles, Cocks & Haukes, that is very strange to see. He keepeth a great court, which they call Dericcan. Agra and Fatepore are two very great cities, either of them much greater then London and very populous. Betweene Agra and Fatepore are 12. miles, and all the way is a market of victuals & other things, as full as though a man were still in a towne, and so many people as if a man were in a market. They have many fine cartes, and many of them carved and gilded with gold, with two wheelles which be drawen with two litle Bulls about the bignesse of our great dogs in England, and they will runne with any horse, and carie two or three men in one of these cartes : they are covered with silke or very fine cloth, and be used here as our Coches be in England. Hither is great resort of marchants from Persia and out of India, and very much marchandise of silke and cloth, and of precious stones, both Rubies, Diamants, and Pearles. The king is apparelled in a white Cabie made like a shirt tied with strings on the one side, and a litle cloth on his head coloured oftentimes with red or yealow. None come into his house but his eunuches which keepe his women. Here in Fatepore we staid all

three untill the 28. of September 1585. and then master John Newberie tooke his journey toward the citie of Lahor, determining from thence to goe for Persia and then for Aleppo or Constantinople, whether hee could get soonest passage unto, and directed me to goe for Bengala and for Pegu, and did promise me, if it pleased God, to meete me in Bengala within two yeeres with a shippe out of England. I left William Leades the jeweller in service with the king Zelabdim Echebar in Fatepore, who did entertaine him very well, and gave him an house and five slaves, an horse, and every day sixe S. S. in money. I went from Agra to Satagam in Bengala, in the companie of one hundred and fourescore boates laden with Salt, Opium, Hinge, Lead, Carpets, and divers other commodities downe the river Jemena. The chiefe marchants are Moores and Gentiles. In these countries they have many strange ceremonies. The Bramanes which are their priests, come to the water and have a string about their necks made with great ceremonies, and lade up water with both their hands, and turne the string first with both their hands within, and then one arme after the other out. Though it be never so cold, they will wash themselves in cold water or in warme. These Gentiles will eate no flesh nor kill any thing. They live with rice, butter, milke, and fruits. They pray in the water naked, and dresse their meat & eate it naked, and for their penance they lie flat upon the earth, and rise up and turne themselves about 30. or 40. times, and use to heave up their hands to the sunne, & to kisse the earth, with their armes and legs stretched along out, and their right leg alwayes before the left. Every time they lie downe, they make a score on the ground with their finger to know when their stint is finished. The Bramanes marke themselves in the foreheads, eares and throates with a kind of yellow geare which they grind, & every morning they do it. And they have some old men which go in the streetes with a boxe of yellow poudre, and marke men on their heads & necks as they meet them. And their wives do come by 10. 20. & 30. together to the water side singing, & there do wash themselves, & then use their ceremonies, & marke themselves in their foreheds and faces, and cary some with them, and so depart singing. Their daughters be married, at, or before the age of 10. yeres. The men may have 7. wives. They

be a kind of craftie people, worse then the Jewes. When they salute one another, they heave up their hands to their heads, and say Rame, Rame. From Agra I came to Prage, where the river Jemena entreth into the mightie river Ganges, and Jemena looseth his name. Ganges commeth out of the Northwest, & runneth East into the gulfe of Bengala. In those parts there are many Tigers and many partridges & turtle-doves, and much other foule. Here be many beggers in these countries which goe naked, and the people make great account of them: they call them Schesche. Here I sawe one which was a monster among the rest. He would have nothing upon him, his beard was very long, and with the haire of his head he covered his privities. The nailes of some of his fingers were two inches long, for he would cut nothing from him, neither would he speake. He was accompanied with eight or tenne, and they spake for him. When any man spake to him, he would lay his hand upon his brest and bowe himselfe, but would not speake. Hee would not speake to the king. We went from Prage downe Ganges, the which is here very broad. Here is great store of fish of sundry sorts, & of wild foule, as of swannes, geese, cranes, and many other things. The countrey is very fruitfull and populous. The men for the most part have their faces shaven, and their heads very long, except some which bee all shaven save the crowne: and some of them are as though a man should set a dish on their heads, and shave them round, all but the crowne. In this river of Ganges are many Ilands. His water is very sweete and pleasant, and the countrey adjoyning very fruitfull. From thence wee went to Banaras which is a great towne, and great store of cloth is made there of cotton, and Shashes for the Moores. In this place they be all Gentiles, and be the greatest idolaters that ever I sawe. To this towne come the Gentiles on pilgrimage out of farre countreys. Here alongst the waters side bee very many faire houses, and in all of them, or for the most part they have their images standing, which be evill favoured, made of stone and wood, some like lions, leopards, and monkeis, some like men & women, and pecocks, and some like the devil with foure armes and 4. hands. They sit crosse legged, some with one thing in their hands, & some another, & by breake of day and before, there are men & women which



come out of the towne and wash themselves in Ganges. And there are divers old men which upon places of earth made for the purpose, sit praying, and they give the people three or foure strawes, which they take & hold them betweene their fingers when they wash themselves: and some sit to marke them in the foreheads, and they have in a cloth a litle Rice, Barlie, or money, which, when they have washed themselves, they give to the old men which sit there praying. Afterwards they go to divers of their images, & give them of their sacrifices. And when they give, the old men say certaine prayers, and then is all holy. And in divers places there standeth a kind of image which in their language they call Ada. And they have divers great stones carved, whereon they poure water, & throw thereupon some rice, wheate, barley, and some other things. This Ada hath foure hands with clawes. Moreover, they have a great place made of stone like to a well with steppes to goe downe; wherein the water standeth very foule and stinketh: for the great quantitie of flowers, which continually they throwe into it, doe make it stinke. There be alwayes many people in it: for they say when they wash themselves in it, that their sinnes be forgiven them, because God, as they say, did wash himselfe in that place. They gather up the sand in the bottome of it, and say it is holy. They never pray but in the water, and they wash themselves overhead, and lade up water with both their handes, and turne themselves about, and then they drinke a litle of the water three times, and so goe to their gods which stand in those houses. Some of them will wash a place which is their length, and then will pray upon the earth with their armes and legs at length out, and will rise up and lie downe, and kisse the ground twentie or thirtie times, but they will not stirre their right foote. And some of them will make their ceremonies with fifteene or sixteene pots litle and great, and ring a litle bel when they make their mixtures tenne or twelve times: and they make a circle of water round about their pots and pray, and divers sit by them, and one that reacheth them their pots: and they say divers things over their pots many times, and when they have done, they goe to their gods, and strowe their sacrifices which they thinke are very holy, and marke many of them which sit by, in the foreheads, which they take as a great gift. There come

fiftie and sometime an hundred together, to wash them in this well, and to offer to these idols.

They have in some of these houses their idoles standing, and one sitteth by them in warme weather with a fanne to blowe winde upon them. And when they see any company comming, they ring a litle bell which hangeth by them, and many give them their almes, but especially those which come out of the countrey. Many of them are blacke and have clawes of brasse with long nayles, and some ride upon peacockes and other foules which be evill favoured, with long haukes bils, and some like one thing and some another, but none with a good face. Among the rest there is one which they make great account of: for they say hee giveth them all things both foode and apparell, and one sitteth alwayes by him with a fanne to make wind towards him. Here some bee burned to ashes, some scorched in the fire and throwen into the water, and dogges and foxes doe presently eate them. The wives here doe burne with their husbands when they die, if they will not, their heads be shaven, and never any account is made of them afterward. The people goe all naked save a litle cloth bound about their middle. Their women have their necks, armes and eares decked with rings of silver, copper, tinne, and with round hoopoes made of Ivorie, adorned with amber stones, and with many agats, and they are marked with a great spot of red in their foreheads, and a stroke of red up to the crowne, and so it runneth three maner of wayes. In their Winter, which is our May, the men weare quilted gownes of cotton like to our mattraces and quilted caps like to our great Grocers morters, with a slit to looke out at, and so tied downe beneath their eares. If a man or woman be sicke and like to die, they will lay him before their idols all night, and that shall helpe him or make an ende of him. And if he do not mend that night, his friends will come and sit with him a litle and cry, and afterwards will cary him to the waters side and set him upon a litle raft made of reeds, and so let him goe downe the river. When they be married the man and the woman come to the water side, and there is an olde man which they call a Bramane, that is, a priest, a cowe, and a calfe, or a cowe with calfe. Then the man and the woman, cowe and calfe, and the olde man goe into the water together, and they give the olde man a white cloth

of foure yards long, and a basket crosse bound with divers things in it: the cloth hee laieth upon the backe of the cowe, and then he taketh the cowe by the ende of the taile, and saith certaine wordes: and she hath a copper or a brasse pot full of water, and the man doeth hold his hand by the olde mans hand, and the wives hand by her husbands, and all have the cowe by the taile, and they poure water out of the pot upon the coves taile, and it runneth through all their hands, and they lade up water with their handes, and then the olde man doeth tie him and her together by their clothes. Which done, they goe round about the cowe and calfe, and then they give somewhat to the poore which be alwayes there, and to the Bramane or priest they give the cowe and calfe, and afterward goe to divers of their idoles and offer money, and lie downe flat upon the ground and kisse it divers times, and then goe their way. Their chiefe idoles bee blacke and evill favoured, their mouthes monstros, their eares gilded, and full of jewels, their teeth and eyes of gold, silver, and glasse, some having one thing in their handes, and some another. You may not come into the houses where they stand, with your shooes on. They have continually lampes burning before them. From Bannaras I went to Patenaw downe the river of Ganges: where in the way we passed many faire townes, and a countrey very fruitfull: and many very great rivers doe enter into Ganges, and some of them as great as Ganges, which cause Ganges to bee of a great breadth, and so broad that in the time of raine you cannot see from one side to the other. These Indians when they bee scorched and throwen into the water, the men swimme with their faces downewards, the women with their faces upwards, I thought they tied something to them to cause them to doe so: but they say no. There be very many thieves in this countrey, which be like to the Arabians: for they have no certaine abode, but are sometime in one place and sometime in another. Here the women bee so decked with silver and copper, that it is strange to see, they use no shooes by reason of the rings of silver and copper which they weare on their toes. Here at Patanaw they finde gold in this maner. They digge deepe pits in the earth, and wash the earth in great bolles, and therein they finde the gold, and they make the pits round about with bricke, that the earth fall not in. Patenaw is a very

long and a great towne. In times past it was a kingdom, but now it is under Zelabdim Echebar the great Mogor. The men are tall and slender, and have many old folks among them: the houses are simple, made of earth and covered with strawe, the streetes are very large. In this towne there is a trade of cotton, & cloth of cotton, much sugar, which they cary from hence to Bengala and India, very much Opium & other commodities. He that is chiefe here under the king is called Tipperdas, and is of great account among the people. Here in Patenau I saw a dissembling prophet which sate upon an horse in the market place, and made as though he slept, and many of the people came and touched his feete with their hands, and then kissed their hands. They tooke him for a great man, but sure he was a lasie lubber. I left him there sleeping. The people of these countries be much given to such prating and dissembling hypocrites.

From Patanaw I went to Tanda which is in the land of Gouren. It hath in times past bene a kingdom, but now is subdued by Zelabdim Echebar. Great trade and traffique is here of cotton, and of cloth of cotton. The people goe naked with a litle cloth bound about their waste. It standeth in the countrey of Bengala. Here be many Tigers, wild Bufs, and great store of wilde foule: they are very great idolaters. Tanda standeth from the river Ganges a league, because in times past the river flowing over the bankes, in time of raine did drowne the countrey and many villages, and so they do remaine. And the old way which the river Ganges was woont to run, remaineth drie, which is the occasion that the citie doeth stand so farre from the water. From Agra downe the river Jemena, and downe the river Ganges, I was five moneths comming to Bengala, but it may be sailed in much shorter time.

I went from Bengala into the country of Couche, which lieth 25. dayes journy Northwards from Tanda. The king is a Gentile, his name is Suckel Couse: his countrey is great, and lieth not far from Cauchin China: for they say they have pepper from thence. The port is called Cacchegate. All the countrie is set with Bambos or Canes made sharpe at both the endes & driven into the earth, and they can let in the water & drowne the ground above knee deepe, so that men nor horses can passe.

They poison all the waters if any wars be. Here they have much silke & muske, and cloth made of cotton. The people have eares which be marveilous great of a span long, which they draw out in length by devises when they be yong. Here they be all Gentiles, and they will kil nothing. They have hospitals for sheepe, goates, dogs, cats, birds, & for all other living creatures. When they be old & lame, they keepe them until they die. If a man catch or buy any quicke thing in other places & bring it thither, they wil give him mony for it or other victuals, & keepe it in their hospitals or let it go. They wil give meat to the Ants. Their smal mony is almonds, which oftentimes they use to eat. From thence I returned to Hugeli, which is the place where the Portugals keep in the country of Bengala which standeth in 23. degrees of Northerly latitude, and standeth a league from Satagan: they cal it Porto Piqueno. We went through the wildernes, because the right way was full of thieves, where we passed the countrey of Gouren, where we found but few villages, but almost all wildernes, & saw many buffes, swine & deere, grasse longer then a man, and very many Tigers. Not far from Porto Piqueno southward, standeth an haven which is called Angeli, in the countrey of Orixá. It was a kingdom of it selfe, & the king was a great friend to strangers. Afterwards it was taken by the king of Patan which was their neighbour, but he did not enjoy it long, but was taken by Zelabdim Echebar, which is king of Agra, Delli, & Cambaia. Orixá standeth 6. daies journey from Satagan, southwestward. In this place is very much Rice, and cloth made of cotton, & great store of cloth which is made of grasse, which they call Yerva, it is like a silke. They make good cloth of it which they send for India & divers other places. To this haven of Angeli come every yere many ships out of India, Negapatan, Sumatra, Malacca, and divers other places; & lade from thence great store of Rice, & much cloth of cotton wooll, much sugar, & long pepper, great store of butter & other victuals for India. Satagam is a faire citie for a citie of the Moores, and very plentiful of all things. Here in Bengala they have every day in one place or other a great market which they call Chandeau, and they have many great boats which they cal pericose, wherewithall they go from place to place and buy Rice and many other





SCENE FROM AKBAR'S LIFE



things : these boates have 24. or 26. oares to rowe them, they be great of burthen, but have no coverture. Here the Gentiles have the water of Ganges in great estimation, for having good water neere them, yet they will fetch the water of Ganges a great way off, and if they have not sufficient to drinke, they will sprinkle a litle on them, and then they thinke themselves well. From Satagam I travelled by the countrey of the king of Tippiara or porto Grande, with whom the Mogores or Mogen have almost continuall warres. The Mogen which be of the kingdom of Recon and Rame, be stronger then the king of Tippiara, so that Chatigan or porto Grande is oftentimes under the king of Recon.

There is a country 4. daies journie from Couche or Quicheu before mentioned, which is called Bottanter and the citie Bottia, the king is called Dermain; the people whereof are very tall and strong, and there are marchants which come out of China, & they say out of Muscovia or Tartarie. And they come to buy muske, cambals, agats, silke, pepper and saffron like the saffron of Persia. The countrey is very great, 3. moneths journey. There are very high mountains in this countrey, & one of them so steep that when a man is 6. daies journey off it, he may see it perfectly. Upon these mountains are people which have eares of a spanne long : if their eares be not long, they call them apes. They say that when they be upon the mountaines, they see ships in the Sea sayling to and fro; but they know not from whence they come, nor whether they go. There are marchants which come out of the East, they say, from under the sunne, which is from China, which have no beards, and they say there it is something warme. But those which come from the other side of the mountains which is from the North, say there it is very cold. These Northren merchants are apparelled with woollen cloth and hats, white hosen close, and bootes which be of Moscovia or Tartarie. They report that in their countrey they have very good horses, but they be litle : some men have foure, five, or sixe hundred horses and kine : they live with milke and fleshe. They cut the tales of their kine, and sell them very deere, for they bee in great request, and much esteemed in those partes. The haire of them is a yard long, the rumpe is above a spanne long : they use to hang them for braverie upon the heades of their Elephants : they bee

much used in Pegu and China: they buie and sell by scores upon the ground. The people be very swift on foote.

From Chatigan in Bengala, I came to Bacola; the king whereof is a Gentile, a man very well disposed and delighteth much to shoot in a gun. His countrey is very great and fruitful, and hath store of Rice, much cotton cloth, and cloth of silke. The houses be very faire and high builded, the streetes large, the people naked, except a litle cloth about their waste. The women weare great store of silver hoopes about their neckes and armes, and their legs are ringed with silver and copper, and rings made of elephants teeth.

From Bacola I went to Serrepore which standeth upon the river of Ganges, the king is called Chondery. They be all hereabout rebels against their king Zelabdim Echebar: for here are so many rivers & Ilands, that they flee from one to another, whereby his horsemen cannot prevaile against them. Great store of cotton cloth is made here.

Sinnergan is a towne sixe leagues from Serrepore, where there is the best and finest cloth made of cotton that is in all India. The chiefe king of all these countries is called Isacan, and he is chiefe of all the other kings, and is a great friend to all Christians. The houses here, as they be in the most part of India, are very litle, and covered with strawe, and have a fewe mats round about the wals, and the doore to keepe out the Tygers and the Foxes. Many of the people are very rich. Here they will eate no flesh, nor kill no beast: they live of Rice, milke, and fruits. They goe with a litle cloth before them, and all the rest of their bodies is naked. Great store of Cotton cloth goeth from hence, and much Rice, wherewith they serve all India, Ceilon, Pegu, Malacca, Sumatra, and many other places.

I went from Serrepore the 28. of November 1586. for Pegu in a small ship or foist of one Albert Caravallos, and so passing downe Ganges, and passing by the Island of Sundiva, porto Grande, or the countrie of Tippera, the kingdom of Recon and Mogen, leaving them on our left side with a faire wind at Northwest: our course was South & by East, which brought us to the barre of Negrals in Pegu: if any contrary wind had come, we had throwen many of our things over-boord: for we were



*An Arab Merchant*

*Drawn by Thomas Derrick from a drawing  
in the British Museum*





so pestered with people & goods, that there was scant place to lie in. From Bengala to Pegu is 90. leagues. We entred the barre of Negrals, which is a brave barre & hath 4. fadomes water where it hath least. Three dayes after we came to Cosmin, which is a very pretie towne, and standeth very pleasantly, very well furnished with all things. The people be very tall & well disposed; the women white, round faced, with litle eies: the houses are high built, set upon great high postes, & they go up to them with long ladders for feare of the Tygers which be very many. The countrey is very fruitful of all things. Here are very great Figs, Orenge, Coccoes, and other fruits. The land is very high that we fall withall, but after we be entred the barre, it is very lowe and full of rivers, for they goe all too and fro in boates, which they call paroes, and keepe their houses with wife and children in them.

From the barre of Nigrals to the citie of Pegu is ten dayes journey by the rivers. Wee went from Cosmin to Pegu in Paroes or boates, and passing up the rivers wee came to Medon, which is a pretty towne, where there be a wonderfull number of Paroes, for they keepe their houses and their markets in them all upon the water. They rowe too and fro, and have all their marchandizes in their boates with a great Sombrero or shadow over their heads to keepe the sunne from them, which is as broad as a great cart wheele made of the leaves of the Coco trees and fig trees, and is very light.

From Medon we went to Dela, which is a very faire towne, and hath a faire port into the sea, from whence go many ships to Malacca, Mecca, and many other places. Here are 18. or 20. very great and long houses, where they tame and keep many elephants of the kings: for there about in the wilderness they catch the wilde elephants. It is a very fruitfull countrey. From Dela we went to Cirion, which is a good towne, and hath a faire porte into the sea, whither come many ships from Mecca, Malacca, Sumatra, and from divers other places. And there the ships staie and discharge, & send up their goods in Paroes to Pegu. From Cirion we went to Macao, which is a pretie towne, where we left our boats or Paroes, & in the morning taking Delingeages, which are a kind of Coches made of cords & cloth quilted, & caried upon a stang betweene 3. or 4. men: we came to Pegu

the same day. Pegu is a citie very great, strong, and very faire, with walles of stone, and great ditches round about it. There are two townes, the old towne and the newe. In the olde towne are all the marchants strangers, and very many marchants of the countrey. All the goods are sold in the olde towne which is very great, and hath many suburbes round about it, and all the houses are made of Canes which they call Bamibos, and bee covered with strawe. In your house you have a Warehouse which they call Godon, which is made of bricke to put your goods in, for oftentimes they take fire and burne in an houre foure or five hundred houses: so that if the Godon were not, you should bee in danger to have all burned, if any winde should rise, at a trice. In the newe towne is the king, and all his Nobilitie and Gentry. It is a citie very great and populous, and is made square and with very faire walles, and a great ditch round about it full of water, with many crocodiles in it: it hath twenty gates, and they bee made of stone, for every square five gates. There are also many Turrets for Centinels to watch, made of wood, and gilded with golde very faire. The streets are the fairest that ever I saw, as straight as a line from one gate to the other, and so broad that tenne or twelve men may ride a front thorow them. On both sides of them at every mans doore is set a palmer tree which is the nut tree: which make a very faire shew and a very commodious shadow, so that a man may walke in the shade all day. The houses be made of wood, and covered with tiles. The kings house is in the middle of the city, and is walled and ditched round about: and the buildings within are made of wood very sumptuously gilded, and great workmanship is upon the forefront, which is likewise very costly gilded. And the house wherein his Pagode or idole standeth is covered with tiles of silver, and all the walles are gilded with golde. Within the first gate of the kings house is a great large roome, on both sides whereof are houses made for the kings elephants, which be marvellous great and faire, and are brought up to warres and in service of the king. And among the rest he hath foure white elephants, which are very strange and rare: for there is none other king which hath them but he: if any other king hath one, hee will send unto him for it. When any of these white elephants is brought unto the king,

all the merchants in the city are commanded to see them, and to give him a present of halfe a ducat, which doth come to a great summe: for that there are many merchants in the city. After that you have given your present you may come and see them at your pleasure, although they stand in the kings house. This king in his title is called the king of the white elephants. If any other king have one, and will not send it him, he will make warre with him for it: for he had rather lose a great part of his kingdome, then not to conquere him. They do very great service unto these white elephants; every one of them standeth in an house gilded with golde, and they doe feede in vessels of silver and gilt. One of them when he doth go to the river to be washed, as every day they do, goeth under a canopy of cloth of golde or of silke carried over him by sixe or eight men, and eight or ten men goe before him playing on drummes, shawmes, or other instruments: and when he is washed and commeth out of the river, there is a gentleman which doth wash his feet in a silver basin: which is his office given him by the king. There is no such account made of any blacke elephant, be he never so great. And surely there be woonderfull faire and great, and some be nine cubites in height. And they do report that the king hath above five thousand elephants of warre, besides many other which be not taught to fight. This king hath a very large place wherein he taketh the wilde elephants. It standeth about a mile from Pegu, builded with a faire court within, and is in a great grove or wood: and there be many huntsmen, which go into the wilderness with she elephants: for without the she they are not to be taken. And they be taught for that purpose: and every hunter hath five or sixe of them: and they say that they anoint the she elephants with a certaine ointment, which when the wild elephant doth smell, he will not leave her. When they have brought the wilde elephant neere unto the place, they send word unto the towne, and many horsemen and footmen come out and cause the she elephant to enter into a strait way which doeth goe to the palace, and the she and he do runne in: for it is like a wood: and when they be in, the gate doth shut. Afterward they get out the female: and when the male seeth that he is left alone, he weepeth and crieth, and runneth against the walles, which be made of so strong trees,

that some of them doe breake their teeth with running against them. Then they pricke him with sharpe canes, & cause him to go into a strait house, and there they put a rope about his middle and about his feet, and let him stand there three or foure dayes without eating or drinking: and then they bring a female to him, with meat and drinke, and within few dayes he becommeth tame. The chiefe force of the king is in these elephants. And when they go into the warres they set a frame of wood upon their backes, bound with great cordes, wherein sit foure or sixe men, which fight with gunnes, bowes and arrowes, darts and other weapons. And they say that their skinnes are so thicke that a pellet of an harquebush will scarce pearce them, except it be in some tender place. Their weapons be very badde. They have gunnes, but shoot very badly in them, darts and swords short without points. The king keepeth a very great state: when he sitteth abroad as he doth every day twise, all his noble men which they call Shemines sit on ech side, a good distance off, and a great guard without them. The Court yard is very great. If any man will speake with the king, he is to kneele downe, to heave up his hands to his head, and to put his head to the ground three times, when he entreth, in the middle way, and when he commeth neere to the king: and then he sitteth downe and talketh with the king: if the king like well of him, he sitteth neere him within three or foure paces: if he thinke not well of him, he sitteth further off. When he goeth to warre, he goeth very strong. At my being there he went to Odia in the countrey of Siam with three hundred thousand men, and five thousand elephants. Thirty thousand men were his guard. These people do eate roots, herbs, leaves, dogs, cats, rats, serpents, and snakes; they refuse almost nothing. When the king rideth abroad, he rideth with a great guard, and many noblemen, oftentimes upon an elephant with a fine castle upon him very fairely gilded with gold; and sometimes upon a great frame like an horsliter, which hath a little house upon it covered over head, but open on the sides, which is all gilded with golde, & set with many rubies & sapphires, whereof he hath infinite store in his country, and is caried upon sixteene or eighteene mens shoulders. This coach in their language is called Serrion. Very great feasting and triumphing is many times before the king both of men



and women. This king hath little force by Sea, because hee hath but very few ships. He hath houses full of golde and silver, and bringeth in often, but spendeth very little, and hath the mines of rubies and sapphires, and spinelles. Neere unto the palace of the king, there is a treasure woonderfull rich; the which because it is so neere, he doth not account of it: and it standeth open for all men to see in a great walled court with two gates, which be alwayes open. There are foure houses gilded very richly, and covered with leade: in every one of them are Pagodes or images of huge stature and great value. In the first is the picture of a king in golde with a crowne of golde on his head full of great rubies and sapphires, and about him there stand foure children of golde. In the second house is the picture of a man in silver woonderfull great, as high as an house; his foot is as long as a man, and he is made sitting, with a crowne on his head very rich with stones. In the third house is the picture of a man greater then the other, made of brasse, with a rich crowne on his head. In the fourth and last house doth stand another, made of brasse, greater then the other, with a crowne also on his head very rich with stones. In another court not farre from this stand foure other Pagodes or idoles, marvellous great, of copper, made in the same place where they do stand; for they be so great that they be not to be remooved: they stand in foure houses gilded very faire, and are themselves gilded all over save their heads, and they shew like a blacke Morian. Their expences in gilding of their images are woonderfull. The king hath one wife and above three hundred concubines, by which they say he hath fourescore or fourescore and ten children. He sitteth in judgement almost every day. They use no speech, but give up their supplications written in the leaves of a tree with the point of an yron bigger then a bodkin. These leaves are an elle long, and about two inches broad; they are also double. He which giveth in his supplication, doth stand in a place a little distance off with a present. If his matter be liked of, the king accepteth of his present, and granteth his request: if his sute be not liked of, he returneth with his present; for the king will not take it.

In India there are few commodities which serve for Pegu, except Opium of Cambaia, painted cloth of S.

Thome, or of Masulipatan, and white cloth of Bengala, which is spent there in great quantity. They bring thither also much cotton, yarne red coloured with a root which they called Saia, which will never lose his colour: it is very wel solde here, and very much of it commeth yerely to Pegu. By your mony you lose much. The ships which come from Bengala, S. Thome, and Masulipatan, come to the bar of Nigraisland to Cosmin. To Martavan a port of the sea in the kingdome of Pegu come many ships from Malacca laden with Sandall, Porcelanes, and other wares of China, and with Camphora of Borneo, and Pepper from Achen in Sumatra. To Cirion a port of Pegu come ships from Mecca with woollen cloth, Scarlets, Velvets, Opium, and such like. There are in Pegu eight Brokers, whom they call Tareghe, which are bound to sell your goods at the price which they be woorth, and you give them for their labour two in the hundred: and they be bound to make your debt good, because you sell your marchandises upon their word. If the Broker pay you not at his day, you may take him home, and keepe him in your house: which is a great shame for him. And if he pay you not presently, you may take his wife and children and his slaves, and binde them at your doore, and set them in the Sunne; for that is the law of the countrey. Their current money in these parts is a kinde of brasse which they call Gansa, wherewith you may buy golde, silver, rubies, muske, and all other things. The golde and silver is marchandise, and is worth sometimes more and sometimes lesse, as other wares be. This brasen money doeth goe by a weight which they call a biza; and commonly this biza after our account is worth about halfe a crowne or somewhat lesse. The marchandise which be in Pegu, are golde, silver, rubies, sapphires, spinelles, muske, benjamin or frankincense, long pepper, tinne, leade, copper, lacca whereof they make hard waxe, rice, and wine made of rice, and some sugar. The elephants doe eate the sugar canes, or els they would make very much. And they consume many canes likewise in making of their Varellaes or Idole temples, which are in great number both great and small. They be made round like a sugar loafe, some are as high as a Church, very broad beneath, some a quarter of a mile in compasse: within they be all earth done about with stone. They consume in these Varellaes great quantity of golde;

for that they be all gilded aloft: and many of them from the top to the bottome: and every ten or twelve yeeres they must be new gilded, because the raine consumeth off the golde: for they stand open abroad. If they did not consume their golde in these vanities, it would be very plentifull and good cheape in Pegu. About two dayes journey from Pegu there is a Varelle or Pagode, which is the pilgrimage of the Pegues: it is called Dogonne, and is of a woonderfull bignesse, and all gilded from the foot to the toppe. And there is an house by it wherein the Tallipoies which are their Priests doe preach. This house is five and fifty paces in length, and hath three pawnes or walks in it, and forty great pillars gilded, which stand betweene the walks; and it is open on all sides with a number of small pillars, which be likewise gilded: it is gilded with golde within and without. There are houses very faire round about for the pilgrims to lie in: and many goodly houses for the Tallipoies to preach in, which are full of images both of men and women, which are all gilded over with golde. It is the fairest place, as I suppose, that is in the world: it standeth very high, and there are foure wayes to it, which all along are set with trees of fruits, in such wise that a man may goe in the shade above two miles in length. And when their feast day is, a man can hardly passe by water or by land for the great presse of people; for they come from all places of the kingdome of Pegu thither at their feast. In Pegu they have many Tallipoies or priests, which preach against all abuses. Many men resort unto them. When they enter into their kiack, that is to say, their holy place or temple, at the doore there is a great jarre of water with a cocke or a ladle in it, and there they wash their feet; and then they enter in, and lift up their hands to their heads first to their preacher, and then to the Sunne, and so sit downe. The Tallipoies go very strangely appparelled with one camboline or thinne cloth next to their body of a browne colour, another of yellow doubled many times upon their shoulder: and those two be girded to them with a broad girdle: and they have a skinne of leather hanging on a string about their necks, whereupon they sit, bare headed & bare footed: for none of them weareth shooes; with their right armes bare and a great broad sombrero or shadow in their hands to defend them in the Summer from the Sunne, and in the

Winter from the raine. When the Tallipoies or priests take their Orders, first they go to schoole untill they be twenty yeres olde or more, and then they come before a Tallipoie appointed for that purpose, whom they call Rowli: he is of the chiefest and most learned, and he opposeth them, and afterward examineth them many times, whether they will leave their friends, and the company of all women, and take upon them the habit of a Tallipoie. If any be content, then he rideth upon an horse about the streets very richly appparelled, with drummes and pipes, to shew that he leaveth the riches of the world to be a Tallipoie. In few dayes after, he is caried upon a thing like an horsliter, which they call a serion, upon ten or twelve mens shoulders in the apparell of a Tallipoie, with pipes and drummes, and many Tallipoies with him, and al his friends, and so they go with him to his house which standeth without the towne, and there they leave him. Every one of them hath his house, which is very little, set upon six or eight posts, and they go up to them with a ladder of twelve or foureteene staves. Their houses be for the most part by the hie wayes side, and among the trees, and in the woods. And they go with a great pot made of wood or fine earth, and covered, tied with a broad girdle upon their shoulder, which commeth under their arme, wherewith they go to begge their victuals which they eate, which is rice, fish, and herbs. They demand nothing, but come to the doore, and the people presently doe give them, some one thing, and some another: and they put all together in their potte: for they say they must eate of their almes, and therewith content themselves. They keepe their feasts by the Moone: and when it is new Moone they keepe their greatest feast: and then the people send rice and other things to that kiack or church of which they be; and there all the Tallipoies doe meete which be of that Church, and eate the victuals which are sent them. When the Tallipoies do preach, many of the people cary them gifts into the pulpit where they sit and preach. And there is one which sitteth by them to take that which the people bring. It is divided among them. They have none other ceremonies nor service that I could see, but onely preaching.

I went from Pegu to Jamahey, which is in the countrey of the Langeiannes, whom we call Jangomes; it is five

and twenty dayes journey Northeast from Pegu. In which journey I passed many fruitfull and pleasant countreys. The countrey is very lowe, and hath many faire rivers. The houses are very bad, made of canes, and covered with straw. Heere are many wilde buffes and elephants. Jamahey is a very faire and great towne, with faire houses of stone, well peopled, the streets are very large, the men very well set and strong, with a cloth about them, bare headed and bare footed: for in all these countreys they weare no shooes. The women be much fairer then those of Pegu. Heere in all these countreys they have no wheat. They make some cakes of rice. Hither to Jamahey come many marchants out of China, and bring great store of muske, golde, silver, and many other things of China worke. Here is great store of victuals: they have such plenty that they will not milke the buffes, as they doe in all other places. Here is great store of copper and benjamin. In these countreys when the people be sicke they make a vow to offer meat unto the divell, if they escape: and when they be recovered they make a banket with many pipes & drummes and other instruments, and dancung all the night, and their friends come and bring gifts, cocos, figges, arreaes, and other fruits, and with great dauncing and rejoycing they offer to the divell, and say, they give the divel to eat, and drive him out. When they be dancing and playing they will cry & hallow very loud; and in this sort they say they drive him away. And when they be sicke a Tallipoy or two every night doth sit by them & sing, to please the divell that he should not hurt them. And if any die he is caried upon a great frame made like a tower, with a covering all gilded with golde made of canes caried with foureteene or sixteene men, with drummes and pipes and other instruments playing before him to a place out of the towne and there is burned. He is accompanied with all his friends and neighbours, all men: and they give to the tallipoies or priests many mats and cloth: and then they returne to the house and there make a feast for two dayes: and then the wife with all the neighbours wives & her friends go to the place where he was burned, and there they sit a certaine time and cry and gather the pieces of bones which be left unburned and bury them, and then returne to their houses and make an end of all mourning. And the men and women which be neere of kin do shave



their heads, which they do not use except it be for the death of a friend: for they much esteeme of their haire.

Caplan is the place where they finde the rubies, sapphires, and spinelles: it standeth sixe dayes journey from Ava in the kingdome of Pegu. There are many great high hilles out of which they digge them. None may go to the pits but onely those which digge them.

In Pegu, and in all the countreys of Ava, Langeiannes, Siam, and the Bramas, the men weare bunches or little round balles in their privy members: some of them weare two and some three. They cut the skin and so put them in, one into one side and another into the other side; which they do when they be 25 or 30 yeeres olde, and at their pleasure they take one or more of them out as they thinke good. When they be married the husband is for every child which his wife hath, to put in one untill he come to three and then no more: for they say the women doe desire them. They were invented because they should not abuse the male sexe. For in times past all those countries were so given to that villany, that they were very scarce of people. It was also ordained that the women should not have past three cubits of cloth in their nether clothes, which they binde about them; which are so strait, that when they go in the streets, they shew one side of the leg bare above the knee. The bunches aforesayd be of divers sorts: the least be as big as a litle walnut, and very round: the greatest are as big as a litle hennes egge: some are of brasse and some of silver: but those of silver be for the king and his noble men. These are gilded and made with great cunning, and ring like a litle bell. There are some made of leade, which they call Selwy because they ring but litle: and these be of lesser price for the poorer sort. The king sometimes taketh his out, and giveth them to his noblemen as a great gift: and because he hath used them, they esteeme them greatly. They will put one in, and heale up the place in seven or eight dayes.

The Bramas which be of the kings countrey (for the king is a Brama) have their legs or bellies, or some part of their body, as they thinke good themselves, made black with certaine things which they have: they use to pricke the skinne, and to put on it a kinde of anile or blacking, which doth continue alwayes. And this is counted an

honour among them: but none may have it but the Bramas which are of the kings kinred.

These people weare no beards: they pull out the haire on their faces with little pinsons made for that purpose. Some of them will let 16 or 20 haire grow together, some in one place of his face and some in another, and pulleth out all the rest: for he carieth his pinsons alwayes with him to pull the haire out assoone as they appeare. If they see a man with a beard they wonder at him. They have their teeth blacked both men and women, for they say a dogge hath his teeth white, therefore they will blacke theirs.

The Pegues if they have a sute in the law which is so doubtfull that they cannot well determine it, put two long canes into the water where it is very deepe: and both the parties go into the water by the poles, and there sit men to judge, and they both do dive under the water, and he which remaineth longest under the water doth winne the sute.

The 10 of January I went from Pegu to Malacca, passing by many of the ports of Pegu, as Martavan, the Iland of Tavi, from whence commeth great store of tinne which serveth all India, the Ilands of Tanaseri, Junsalaon, and many others; and so came to Malacca the 8 of February, where the Portugals have a castle which standeth nere the sea. And the countrey fast without the towne belongeth to the Malayos, which is a kinde of proud people. They go naked with a cloth about their middle, and a litle roll of cloth about their heads. Hither come many ships from China & from the Malucos, Banda, Timor, and from many other Ilands of the Javas, which bring great store of spices and drugs, and diamants and other jewels. The voyages into many of these Ilands belong unto the captaine of Malacca: so that none may goe thither without his licence: which yeeld him great summes of money every yeere. The Portugals heere have often times warres with the king of Achem which standeth in the Iland of Sumatra: from whence commeth great store of pepper and other spices every yeere to Pegu and Mecca within the Red sea, and other places.

When the Portugals go from Macao in China to Japan, they carry much white silke, golde, muske, and porcelanes: and they bring from thence nothing but silver. They have a great caracke which goeth thither every yere,

and she bringeth from thence every yere above sixe hundred thousand crusadoes : and all this silver of Japan, and two hundred thousand crusadoes more in silver which they bring yeerely out of India, they imploy to their great advantage in China : and they bring from thence golde, muske, silke, copper, porcelanes, and many other things very costly and gilded. When the Portugals come to Canton in China to traffike, they must remaine there but certaine dayes : and when they come in at the gate of the city, they must enter their names in a booke, and when they goe out at night they must put out their names. They may not lie in the towne all night, but must lie in their boats without the towne. And their dayes being expired, if any man remaine there, they are evill used and imprisoned. The Chinians are very suspitious, and doe not trust strangers. It is thought that the king doth not know that any strangers come into his countrey. And further it is credibly reported that the common people see their king very seldome or not at all, nor may not looke up to that place where he sitteth. And when he rideth abroad he is caried upon a great chaire or serrion gilded very faire, wherein there is made a little house with a latise to looke out at : so that he may see them, but they may not looke up at him : and all the time that he passeth by them, they heave up their hands to their heads, & lay their heads on the ground, and looke not up untill he be passed. The order of China is when they mourne, that they weare white thread shoes, and hats of straw. The man doth mourne for his wife two yeeres, the wife for her husband three yeeres : the sonne for his father a yeere, and for his mother two yeres. And all the time which they mourne they keepe the dead in the house, the bowels being taken out and filled with chownam or lime, and coffined : and when the time is expired they carry them out playing and piping, and burne them. And when they returne they pull off their mourning weeds, and marry at their pleasure. A man may keepe as many concubines as he will, but one wife onely. All the Chineans, Japonians, and Cauchin Chineans do write right downwards, and they do write with a fine pensill made of dogs or cats haire.

Laban is an Iland among the Javas from whence come the diamants of the New water. And they finde them in the rivers : for the king will not suffer them to digge the rocke.

Jamba is an Iland among the Javas also, from whence come diamants. And the king hath a masse of earth which is golde; it groweth in the middle of a river: and when the king doth lacke gold, they cut part of the earth and melt it, whereof commeth golde. This masse of earth doth appeare but once in a yere; which is when the water is low: and this is in the moneth of April.

Bima is another Iland among the Javas, where the women travell and labour as our men do in England, and the men keepe house and go where they will.

The 29 of March 1588, I returned from Malacca to Martavan, and so to Pegu, where I remained the second time untill the 17 of September, and then I went to Cosmin, and there tooke shipping; and passing many dangers by reason of contrary windes, it pleased God that we arrived in Bengala in November following: where I stayed for want of passage untill the third of February 1589, and then I shipped my selfe for Cochin. In which voyage we endured great extremity for lacke of fresh water: for the weather was extreme hote, and we were many marchants and passengers, and we had very many calmes, and hote weather. Yet it pleased God that we arrived in Ceylon the sixth of March, where we stayed five dayes to water, and to furnish our selves with other necessary provision. This Ceylon is a brave Iland, very fruitfull & faire; but by reason of continuall warres with the king thereof, all things are very deare: for he will not suffer any thing to be brought to the castle where the Portugals be: wherefore often times they have great want of victuals. Their provision of victuals commeth out of Bengala every yere. The king is called Raia, and is of great force: for he commeth to Colombo, which is the place where the Portugals have their fort, with an hundred thousand men, and many elephants. But they be naked people all of them; yet many of them be good with their pieces which be muskets. When the king talketh with any man, he standeth upon one legge, and setteth the other foot upon his knee with his sword in his hand: it is not their order for the king to sit but to stand. His apparell is a fine painted cloth made of cotton wooll about his middle: his haire is long and bound up with a little fine cloth about his head: all the rest of his body is naked. His guard are a thousand men, which stand round about him, and he in the middle; and when he

marcheth, many of them goe before him, and the rest come after him. They are of the race of the Chingalayes, which they say are the best kinde of all the Malabars. Their eares are very large; for the greater they are, the more honourable they are accounted. Some of them are a spanne long. The wood which they burne is Cinamom wood, and it smelleth very sweet. There is great store of rubies, sapphires, and spinelles in this Iland: the best kinde of all be here; but the king will not suffer the inhabitants to digge for them, lest his enemies should know of them, and make warres against him, and so drive him out of his countrey for them. They have no horses in all the countrey. The elephants be not so great as those of Pegu, which be monstrous huge: but they say all other elephants do feare them, and none dare fight with them, though they be very small. Their women have a cloth bound about them from their middle to their knee: and all the rest is bare. All of them be blacke and but little, both men and women. Their houses are very little, made of the branches of the palmer or coco-tree, and covered with the leaves of the same tree.

The eleventh of March we sailed from Ceylon, and so doubled the cape of Comori. Not far from thence, betweene Ceylon and the maine land of Negapatan, they fish for pearles. And there is fished every yere very much; which doth serve all India, Cambaia, and Bengala, it is not so orient as the pearle of Baharim in the gulfes of Persia. From cape de Comori we passed by Coulam, which is a fort of the Portugals: from whence commeth great store of pepper, which commeth for Portugall: for oftentimes there ladeth one of the caracks of Portugall. Thus passing the coast we arrived in Cochin the 22 of March, where we found the weather warme, but scarsity of victuals: for here groweth neither corne nor rice: and the greatest part commeth from Bengala. They have here very bad water, for the river is farre off. This bad water causeth many of the people to be like lepers, and many of them have their legs swollen as bigge as a man in the waste, & many of them are scant able to go. These people here be Malabars, and of the race of the Naires of Calicut: and they differ much from the other Malabars. These have their heads very full of haire, and bound up with a string: and there doth appeare a bush without the band wherewith it is bound. The men be



tall and strong, and good archers with a long bow and a long arrow, which is their best weapon: yet there be some calivers among them, but they handle them badly.

Heere groweth the pepper; and it springeth up by a tree or a pole, and is like our ivy berry, but something longer like the wheat eare: and at the first the bunches are greene, and as they waxe ripe they cut them off and dry them. The leafe is much lesser then the ivy leafe and thinner. All the inhabitants here have very little houses covered with the leaves of the coco-trees. The men be of a reasonable stature; the women litle; all blacke, with a cloth bound about their middle hanging downe to their hammes: all the rest of their bodies be naked: they have horrible great eares with many rings set with pearles and stones in them. The king goeth incached, as they do all; he doth not remaine in a place above five or sixe dayes: he hath many houses, but they be but litle: his guard is but small: he remooveth from one house to another according to their order. All the pepper of Calicut and course cinamom groweth here in this countrey. The best cinamom doth come from Ceylon, and is pilled from fine yong trees. Here are very many palmer or coco trees, which is their chiefe food: for it is their meat and drinke: and yeeldeth many other necessary things, as I have declared before.

The Naires which be under the king of Samorin, which be Malabars, have alwayes wars with the Portugals. The king hath alwayes peace with them; but his people goe to the sea to robbe & steale. Their chiefe captaine is called Cogi Alli; he hath three castles under him. When the Portugals complaine to the king, he sayth he doth not send them out: but he consenteth that they go. They range all the coast from Ceylon to Goa, and go by foure or five parowes or boats together; and have in every one of them fifty or threescore men, and boord presently. They do much harme on that coast, and take every yere many foists and boats of the Portugals. Many of these people be Moores. This kings countrey beginneth twelve leagues from Cochin, and reacheth neere unto Goa. I remained in Cochin untill the second of November, which was eight moneths: for that there was no passage that went away in all that time: if I had come two dayes sooner I had found a passage presently. From Cochin I went to Goa, where I remained three dayes. From

Cochin to Goa is an hundred leagues. From Goa I went to Chaul, which is threescore leagues, where I remained three and twenty dayes: and there making my provision of things necessary for the shippe, from thence I departed to Ormus; where I stayed for a passage to Balsara fifty dayes. From Goa to Ormus is foure hundred leagues.

Here I thought good, before I make an end of this my booke, to declare some thinges which India and the countrey farther Eastward do bring forth.

The pepper groweth in many parts of India, especially about Cochin: and much of it doeth grow in the fields among the bushes without any labour: and when it is ripe they go and gather it. The shrubbe is like unto our ivy tree: and if it did not run about some tree or pole, it would fall downe and rot. When they first gather it, it is greene; and then they lay it in the Sun, and it becommeth blacke.

The ginger groweth like unto our garlike, and the root is the ginger: it is to be found in many parts of India.

The cloves doe come from the Iles of the Moluccoes, which be divers Ilands: their tree is like to our bay tree.

The nutmegs and maces grow together, and come from the Ile of Banda: the tree is like to our walnut tree, but somewhat lesser.

The white sandol is wood very sweet & in great request among the Indians; for they grinde it with a litle water, and anoynt their bodies therewith: it commeth from the Isle of Timor.

Camphora is a precious thing among the Indians, and is solde dearer then golde. I thinke none of it commeth for Christendome. That which is compounded commeth from China: but that which groweth in canes and is the best, commeth from the great Isle of Borneo.

Lignum Aloes commeth from Cauchinchina.

The benjamin commeth out of the countreys of Siam and Jangomes.

The long pepper groweth in Bengala, in Pegu, and in the Ilands of the Javas.

The muske commeth out of Tartarie, and is made after this order, by report of the marchants which bring it to Pegu to sell; In Tartarie there is a little beast like unto

a yong roe, which they take in snares, and beat him to death with the blood: after that they cut out the bones, and beat the flesh with the blood very small, and fill the skin with it: and hereof commeth the muske.

Of the amber they holde divers opinions; but most men say it commeth out of the sea, and that they finde it upon the shores side.

The rubies, sapphires, and spinelles are found in Pegu.

The diamants are found in divers places, as in Bisnagar, in Agra, in Delli, and in the Ilands of the Javas.

The best pearles come from the Iland of Baharim in the Persian sea, the woorser from the Piscaria neere the Isle of Ceylon, and from Aynam a great Iland on the Southermost coast of China.

Spodium and many other kindes of drugs come from Cambaia.

Now to returne to my voyage; from Ormus I went to Balsara or Basora, and from Basora to Babylon: and we passed the most part of the way by the strength of men by halling the boat up the river with a long cord. From Babylon I came by land to Mosul, which standeth nere to Ninive, which is all ruinated and destroyed; it standeth fast by the river of Tigris. From Mosul I went to Merdin, which is in the countrey of the Armenians; but now there dwell in that place a people which they call Cordies, or Curdi. From Merdin I went to Orfa, which is a very faire towne, and it hath a goodly fountaine ful of fish; where the Moores hold many great ceremonies and opinions concerning Abraham; for they say he did once dwell there. From thence I went to Bir, & so passed the river of Euphrates. From Bir I went to Aleppo, where I stayed certaine moneths for company; and then I went to Tripolis; where finding English shipping, I came with a prosperous voyage to London, where by Gods assistance I safely arrived the 29 of April 1591, having bene eight yeeres out of my native countrey.

The report of John Huighen van Linschoten concerning M. Newberies and M. Fitches imprisonment, and of their escape, which happened while he was in Goa.

In the moneth of December, Anno 1583, there arrived in the towne and Iland of Ormus foure English men,

which came from Aleppo in the countrey of Syria, having sailed out of England, & passed thorow the straights of Gibraltar to Tripoli a towne and haven lying on the coast of Syria, where all the ships discharge their wares & marchandises, & from thence are caried by land unto Aleppo, which is nine dayes journey. In Aleppo there are resident divers marchants & factours of all nations, as Italians, French men, English men, Armenians, Turks and Moores, every man having his religion apart, paying tribute unto the great Turke. In that towne there is great traffique, for that from thence every yeere twise, there travell two Caffyls, that is, companies of people and camels, which travell unto India, Persia, Arabia, and all the countreys bordering on the same, and deale in all sorts of marchandise, both to and from those countreys, as I in another place have already declared. Three of the sayd English men aforesayd, were sent by the company of English men that are resident in Aleppo, to see if in Ormus they might keepe any factours, and so traffique in that place, like as also the Italians do, that is to say, the Venetians which in Ormus, Goa, and Malacca have their factours, and traffique there, aswell for stones and pearles, as for other wares and spices of those countreys, which from thence are caried over land into Venice. One of these English men had bene once before in the sayd towne of Ormus, and there had taken good information of the trade, and upon his advise and advertisement, the other were as then come thither with him, bringing great store of marchandises with them, as Clothes, Saffron, all kindes of drinking glasses, and Haberdashers wares, as looking glasses, knives, and such like stuffe: and to conclude, brought with them all kinde of small wares that may be devised. And although those wares amounted unto great summes of money, notwithstanding it was but onely a shadow or colour, thereby to give no occasion to be mistrusted, or seene into: for that their principall intent was to buy great quantities of precious stones, as Diamants, Pearles, Rubies, &c. to the which end they brought with them a great summe of money and golde, and that very secretly, not to be deceived or robbed thereof, or to runne into any danger for the same. They being thus arrived in Ormus, hired a shoppe, and beganne to sell their wares: which the Italians perceiving, whose factours continue there (as I

sayd before) and fearing that those English men finding good vent for their commodities in that place, would be resident therein, and so dayly increase, which would be no small losse and hinderance unto them, did presently invent all the subtile meanes they could to hinder them: and to that end they went unto the Captaine of Ormus, as then called Don Gonsalo de Meneses, telling him that there were certaine English men come into Ormus, that were sent onely to spie the countrey; and sayd further, that they were heretikes: and therefore they sayd it was convenient they should not be suffered so to depart, without being examined, and punished as enemies, to the example of others. The Captaine being a friend unto the English men, by reason that one of them which had bene there before, had given him certaine presents, would not be perswaded to trouble them, but shipped them with all their wares in a shippe that was to saile for Goa, and sent them to the Viceroy, that he might examine and trie them, as he thought good: where when they were arrived, they were cast into prison, and first examined whether they were good Christians or no: and because they could speake but badde Portugall, onely two of them spake good Dutch, as having bene certaine yeres in the Low countreyes, and there traffiked, there was a Dutch Jesuite born in the towne of Bruges in Flanders, that had bene resident in the Indies for the space of thirty yers, sent unto them, to undermine and examine them: wherein they behaved themselves so well, that they were holden and esteemed for good and Catholicke Christians: yet still suspected, because they were strangers, and specially English men. The Jesuites still tolde them that they should be sent prisoners into Portugall, wishing them to leave off their trade of marchandise, and to become Jesuites, promising them thereby to defend them from all trouble. The cause why they sayd so, and perswaded them in that earnest maner, was, for that the Dutch Jesuite had secretly bene advertised of great summes of money which they had about them, and sought to get the same into their fingers, for that the first vowe and promise they make at their entrance into their Order, is, to procure the welfare of their sayd Order, by what meanes soever it be. But although the English men denied them, and refused the Order, saying, that they were unfit for such places, neverthelesse they proceeded



so farre, that one of them, being a Painter (that came with the other three for company, to see the countreys, and to seeke his fortune, and was not sent thither by the English marchants) partly for feare, and partly for want of meanes to relieve himselfe, promised them to become a Jesuite : and although they knew and well perceived he was not any of those that had the treasure, yet because he was a Painter, whereof there are but few in India, and that they had great need of him to paint their Church, which otherwise would cost them great charges, to bring one from Portugall, they were very glad thereof, hoping in time to get the rest of them with all their money into their fellowship : so that to conclude, they made this Painter a Jesuite, where he continued certaine dayes, giving him good store of worke to doe, and entertaining him with all the favour and friendship they could devise, and all to winne the rest, to be a pray for them : but the other three continued still in prison, being in great feare, because they understood no man that came to them, nor any man almost knew what they sayd : till in the end it was tolde them that certaine Dutch men dwelt in the Archbishops house, and counsell given them to send unto them, whereat they much rejoyced, and sent to me and an other Dutch man, desiring us once to come and speake with them, which we presently did, and they with teares in their eyes made complaint unto us of their hard usage, shewing us from point to point (as it is sayd before) why they were come into the countrey, withall desiring us for Gods cause, if we might by any meanes, to helpe them, that they might be set at liberty upon sureties, being ready to endure what justice should ordaine for them, saying, that if it were found contrary, and that they were other then travelling marchants, and sought to finde out further benefit by their wares, they would be content to be punished. With that we departed from them, promising them to do our best : and in the end we obtained so much of the Archbishop, that he went unto the Viceroy to deliver our petition, and perswaded him so well, that he was content to set them at libertie, and that their goods should be delivered unto them againe, upon condition they should put in sureties for two thousand pardawes, not to depart the countrey before other order should be taken with them. Thereupon they presently found a Citizen of the towne that was their

surety for two thousand pardawes, to whom they payed in hand one thousand and three hundred pardawes, and because they sayd they had no more ready money, he gave them credit, seeing what store of marchandise they had, whereby at all times if need were, he might be satisfied: and by that meanes they were delivered out of prison, and hired themselves an house, and beganne to set open shoppe: so that they uttered much ware, and were presently well knowen among all the marchants, because they alwayes respected gentlemen, specially such as bought their wares, shewing great courtesie and honour unto them, whereby they woon much credit, and were beloved of all men, so that every man favoured them, and was willing to doe them pleasure. To us they shewed great friendship, for whose sake the Archbishop favoured them much, and shewed them very good countenance, which they knew well how to increase, by offering him many presents, although he would not receive them, neither would ever take gift or present at any mans hands. Likewise they behaved themselves so discreetly that no man caried an evill eye, no, nor an evill thought towards them. Which liked not the Jesuites, because it hindered them from that they hoped for, so that they ceased not still by this Dutch Jesuite to put them in feare, that they should be sent into Portugall to the King, counselling them to yeeld themselves Jesuites into their Cloister, which if they did, he sayd they would defend them from all troubles, saying further, that he counselled them therein as a friend, & one that knew for certaine that it was so determined by the Viceroyes Privy councill: which to effect he sayd they stayed but for shipping that should saile for Portugall, with divers other perswasions, to put them in some feare, and so to effect their purpose. The English men to the contrary, durst not say any thing to them, but answered, that as yet they would stay a while, and consider thereof, thereby putting the Jesuites in comfort, as one among them, being the principall of them (called John Newbery) complained unto me often times, saying that he knew not what to say or thinke therein, or which way he might be ridde of those troubles: but in the end they determined with themselves to depart from thence, and secretly by meanes of other friends they imployed their money in precious stones; which the better to effect, one of them was a Jeweller, and for the

same purpose came with them. Which being concluded among them, they durst not make known to any man, neither did they credite us so much, as to shew us their mindes therein, although they tolde us all whatsoever they knew. But on a Whitsunday they went abroad to sport themselves about three miles from Goa, in the mouth of the river in a countrey called Bardes, having with them good store of meate and drinke. And because they should not be suspected, they left their house and shoppe, with some wares therein unsolde, in custody of a Dutch boy, by us provided for them, that looked unto it. This boy was in the house not knowing their intent, and being in Bardes, they had with them a Patamar, which is one of the Indian postes, which in the Winter times carieth letters from one place to the other, whom they had hired to guide them: and because that betweene Bardes and the firme land there is but a little river, in a maner halfe drie, they passed over it on foot, and so travelled by land, being never heard of againe: but it is thought they arrived in Aleppo, as some say, but they know not certainly. Their greatest hope was that John Newbery could speake the Arabian tongue, which is used in all those countreys, or at the least understood; for it is very common in all places there abouts, as French with us. Newes being come to Goa, there was a great stirre and murmuring among the people, and we much woondered at it: for many were of opinion, that we had given them counsell so to do: and presently their surety seised upon the goods remaining, which might amount unto above two hundred pardawes; and with that and the money he had received of the English men, he went unto the Viceroy, and delivered it unto him: which the Viceroy having received, forgave him the rest. This flight of the English men grieved the Jesuites most, because they had lost such a praye, which they made sure account of: whereupon the Dutch Jesuite came to us to aske us if we knew thereof, saying, that if he had suspected so much, he would have dealt otherwise, for that he sayd, he once had in his hands of theirs a bagge wherein was forty thousand veneseanders (ech veneseander being two pardawes) which was when they were in prison. And that they had alwayes put him in comfort to accomplish his desire: upon the which promise he gave them their money againe, which otherwise they should not so

lightly have come by, or peradventure never, as he openly sayd: and in the end he called them hereticks, and spies, with a thousand other railing speeches, which he uttered against them. The English man that was become a Jesuite, hearing that his companions were gone, and perceiving that the Jesuites shewed him not so great favour, neither used him so well as they did at the first, repented himselfe; and seeing he had not as then made any solemne promise, and being counselled to leave the house, and tolde that he could not want a living in the towne, as also that the Jesuites could not keepe him there without he were willing to stay, so they could not accuse him of any thing, he tolde them flatly that he had no desire to stay within the Cloister. And although they used all the meanes they could to keepe him there, yet he would not stay, but hired an house without the Cloister, and opened shoppe, where he had good store of worke: and in the end married a Mestizos daughter of the towne, so that he made his account to stay there while he lived. By this English man I was instructed of all the wayes, trades, and voyages of the countrey, betweene Aleppo and Ormus, and of all the ordinances and common customes which they usually holde during their voyage over the land, as also of the places and townes where they passed. And since those English mens departures from Goa, there never arrived any strangers, either English or others, by land, in the sayd countreys, but onely Italians which dayly traffique over land, and use continuall trade going and comming that way.

The voyage of M. John Eldred to Trypolis in Syria by sea, and from thence by land and river to Babylon and Balsara. 1583.

I DEPARTED out of London in the ship called the Tiger, in the company of M. John Newbery, M. Ralph Fitch, and sixe or seven other honest marchants upon Shrove munday 1583, and arrived in Tripolis of Syria the first day of May next insuing: at our landing we went on Maying upon S. Georges Iland, a place where Christians dying aboard the ships, are woont to be buried. In this city our English marchants have a Consull, and our nation abide together in one house with him, called Fondeghi Ingles, builded of stone, square, in maner like a Closter, & every man hath his severall chamber, as it



is the use of all other Christians of severall nations. This towne standeth under a part of the mountaine of Libanus two English miles distant from the port: on the side of which port, trending in forme of an halfe Moone, stand five blocke houses or small forts, wherein is some very good artillery, and the forts are kept with about an hundred Janisaries. Right before this towne from the seaward is a banke of moving sand, which gathereth and increaseth with the Westernne winds, in such sort, that, according to an olde prophesie among them, this banke is like to swallow up & overwhelme the towne: for every yere it increaseth and eateth up many gardens, although they use all policy to diminish the same, and to make it firme ground. The city is about the bignesse of Bristow, and walled about, though the walles be of no great force. The chiefe strength of the place is in a Citadell, which standeth on the South side within the walles, and overlooketh the whole towne, and is strongly kept with two hundred Janisaries and good artillery. A river passeth thorow the midst of the city, wherewith they water their gardens and mulbery trees, on which there grow abundance of silke wormes, wherewith they make great quantity of very white silke, which is the chieftest naturall commodity to be found in and about this place. This rode is more frequented with Christian marchants, to wit, Venetians, Genouois, Florentines, Marsilians, Sicilians, Raguses, and lately with English men, then any other port of the Turks dominions. From Tripolis I departed the 14 of May with a caravan, passing three dayes over the ridge of mount Libanus, at the end whereof we arrived in a city called Hammah, which standeth on a goodly plaine replenished with corne & cotton wooll. On these mountaines which we passed grow great quantity of gall trees, which are somewhat like our okes, but lesser and more crooked: on the best tree a man shall not finde above a pound of galles. This towne of Hammah is fallen and falleth more and more to decay, and at this day there is scarce one halfe of the wall standing, which hath bene very strong and faire: but because it cost many mens lives to win it, the Turke will not have it repaired; and hath written in the Arabian tongue over the castle gate, which standeth in the midst of the towne, these words: Cursed be the father and the sonne that shall lay their hands to the repairing



hereof. Refreshing our selves one day here, we passed forward with camels three dayes more untill we came to Aleppo, where we arrived the 21 of May. This is the greatest place of traffique for a dry towne that is in all those parts : for hither resort Jewes, Tartarians, Persians, Armenians, Egyptians, Indians, and many sorts of Christians, and injoy freedome of their consciences, and bring thither many kinds of rich marchandises. In the midst of this towne also standeth a goodly castle raised on high, with a garison of foure or five hundred Janisaries. Within foure miles round about are goodly gardens and vineyards and trees, which beare goodly fruit neere unto the rivers side, which is but small; the walles are about three English miles in compasse, but the suburbs are almost as much more. The towne is greatly peopled. We departed from thence with our camels the last of May with M. John Newbery and his company, and came to Birrah in three dayes, being a small towne situated upon the river Euphrates, where it beginneth first to take his name, being here gathered into one chanell, whereas before it commeth downe in manifold branches, and therefore is called by the people of the countrey by a name which signifieth a thousand heads. Here is plenty of victuals, wherof we all furnished our selves for a long journey downe the aforesayd river. And according to the maner of those that travell downe by water, we prepared a small barke for the conveyance of our selves and of our goods. These boats are flat bottomed, because the river is shallow in many places : and when men travell in the moneth of July, August, and September, the water being then at the lowest, they are constrained to cary with them a spare boat or two to lighten their owne boats, if they chance to fall on the sholds. We were eight and twenty dayes upon the water betweene Birrah and Felugia, where we disembarked our selves and our goods. Every night after the Sun setteth, we tie our barke to a stake, go on land to gather sticks, and set on our pot with rice or brused wheat, and having supped, the marchants lie aboard the barke, and the mariners upon the shores side as nere as they can unto the same. In many places upon the rivers side we met with troops of Arabians, of whom we bought milke, butter, egges, and lambs, and gave them in barter, (for they care not for money) glasses, combes, corall, amber,

to hang about their armes and necks, and for churned milke we gave them bread and pomgranat peeles, wherewith they use to tanne their goats skinnnes which they churme withall. Their haire, apparell, and colour are altogether like to those vagabond Egyptians, which heretofore have gone about in England. Their women all without exception weare a great round ring in one of their nostrels, of golde, silver, or yron, according to their ability, and about their armes and smalles of their legs they have hoops of golde, silver or yron. All of them aswel women and children as men, are very great swimmers, and often times swimming they brought us milke to our barke in vessels upon their heads. These people are very theevish, which I proved to my cost: for they stole a casket of mine, with things of good value in the same, from under my mans head as he was asleepe: and therefore travellers keepe good watch as they passe downe the river. Euphrates at Birrah is about the breadth of the Thames at Lambeth, and in some places narrower, in some broader: it runneth very swiftly, almost as fast as the river of Trent: it hath divers sorts of fish in it, but all are scaled, some as bigge as salmons, like barbils. We landed at Felugia the eight and twentieth of June, where we made our abode seven dayes, for lacke of camels to cary our goods to Babylon: the heat at that time of the yere is such in those parts, that men are loth to let out their camels to travell. This Felugia is a village of some hundred houses, and a place appointed for discharging of such goods as come downe the river: the inhabitants are Arabians. Not finding camels here, we were constrained to unlade our goods, and hired an hundred asses to cary our English marchandises onely to New Babylon over a short desert, in crossing whereof we spent eighteene houres travelling by night, and part of the morning, to avoid the great heat.

In this place which we crossed over, stood the olde mighty city of Babylon, many olde ruines wherof are easily to be seene by day-light, which I John Eldred have often beheld at my good leasure, having made three voyages betweene the new city of Babylon and Aleppo over this desert. Here also are yet standing the ruines of the olde tower of Babel, which being upon a plaine ground seemeth a farre off very great, but the nerer you come to it, the lesser and lesser it appeareth; sundry

times I have gone thither to see it, and found the remnants yet standing above a quarter of a mile in compasse, and almost as high as the stoneworke of Pauls steeple in London, but it sheweth much bigger. The bricks remaining in this most ancient monument be halfe a yard thicke, and three quarters of a yard long, being dried in the Sunne onely, and betweene every course of bricks there lieth a course of mattes made of canes, which remaine sound and not perished, as though they had bene layed within one yeere. The city of New Babylon joyneth upon the aforsayd small desert where the Olde city was, and the river of Tigris runneth close under the wall, and they may if they will open a sluice, and let the water of the same runne round about the towne. It is above two English miles in compasse, and the inhabitants generally speake three languages, to wit, the Persian, Arabian and Turkish tongues: the people are of the Spaniards complexion: and the women generally weare in one of the gristles of their noses a ring like a wedding ring, but somewhat greater, with a pearle and a Turkish stone set therein: and this they do be they never so poore.

This is a place of very great traffique, and a very great thorowfare from the East Indies to Aleppo. The towne is very well furnished with victuals which come downe the river of Tigris from Mösul which was called Ninive in olde time. They bring these victuals and divers sorts of marchandises upon rafts borne upon goats skins blown up ful of wind in maner of bladders. And when they have discharged their goods, they sel the rafts for fire, and let the wind out of their goats skins, and cary them home againe upon their asses by land, to make other voyages downe the river. The building here is most of bricke dried in the Sun, and very litle or no stone is to be found: their houses are all flat-roofed and low. They have no raine for eight moneths together, nor almost any clouds in the skie, night nor day. Their Winter is in November, December, January and February, which is as warme as our Summer in England in a maner. This I know by good experience, because my abode at severall times in this city of Babylon hath bene at the least the space of two yeres. As we come to the city, we passe over the river of Tigris on a great bridge made with boats chained together with two mighty chaines of yron. From thence we departed in flat bottomed barks more strong

& greater then those of Euphrates, and were eight and twenty dayes also in passing downe this river to Balsara, but we might have done it in eighteene or lesse, if the water had bene higher. Upon the waters side stand by the way divers townes resembling much the names of the olde prophets: the first towne they call Ozeah, & another Zecchiah. Before we come to Balsara by one dayes journey, the two rivers of Tigris and Euphrates meet, and there standeth a castle called Curna, kept by the Turks, where all marchants pay a small custome. Here the two rivers joyned together begin to be eight or nine miles broad: here also it beginneth to ebbe and flow, and the water overflowing maketh the countrey all about very fertile of corne, rice, pulse, and dates. The towne of Balsara is a mile and a halfe in circuit: all the buildings, castle and wals, are made of bricke dried in the Sun. The Turke hath here five hundred Janisaries, besides other souldiers continually in garison and pay, but his chiefe strength is of gallies which are about five and twenty or thirty very faire and furnished with goodly ordinance. To this port of Balsara come monethly divers ships from Ormuz, laden with all sorts of Indian marchandise, as spices, drugs, Indico and Calecut cloth. These ships are usually from forty to threescore tunnes, having their planks sowed together with corde made of the barke of Date trees, and in stead of Occam they use the shiverings of the barke of the sayd trees, and of the same they also make their tackling. They have no kinde of yron worke belonging to these vessels, save only their ankers. From this place six dayes sailing downe the gulfe, they go to a place called Baharem in the mid way to Ormus: there they fish for pearles foure moneths in the yere, to wit, in June, July, August, and September. My abode in Balsara was just sixe moneths, during which time I received divers letters from M. John Newbery from Ormus, who as he passed that way with her Majesties letters to Zelabdim Echebar king of Cambaia, & unto the mighty emperor of China, was traiterously there arrested, and all his company, by the Portugals, and afterward sent prisoner to Goa: where after a long and cruell imprisonment he and his companions were delivered upon sureties, not to depart the towne without leave, at the sute of one father Thomas Stevens an English religious man, which they found there: but shortly after three of

them escaped, whereof one, to wit, M. Ralph Fitch, is since come into England. The fourth, which was a painter called John Story, became religious in the college of S. Paul in Goa, as we understood by their letters. I and my companion William Shales having dispatched our businesse at Balsara, imbarked our selves in company of seventy barks all laden with marchandise, having every barke 14 men to draw them, like our Westernne bargemen on the Thames, and we were forty foure dayes comming up against the streame to Babylon, where arriving and paying our custome, we with all other sorts of marchants bought us camels, hired us men to lade and drive them, furnished our selves with rice, butter, bisket, hony made of dates, onions and dates: and every marchant bought a proportion of live muttons, and hired certaine shepherds to drive them with us: we also bought us tents to lie in, and to put our goods under: and in this our caravan were foure thousand camels laden with spices and other rich marchandises. These camels will live very well two or three dayes without water: their feeding is on thistles, wormewood, magdalene, and other strong weeds which they finde upon the way. The government and deciding of all quarels and dueties to be payed, the whole caravan committeth to one speciall rich marchant of the company, of whose honesty they conceive best. In passing from Babylon to Aleppo, we spent forty dayes, travelling twenty, or foure and twenty miles a day, resting ourselves commonly from two of the clocke in the afternoone, until three in the morning, at which time we begin to take our journey. Eight dayes journey from Babylon toward Aleppo, neere unto a towne called Heit, as we crosse the river Euphrates by boates, about 3. miles from the town there is a valley wherein are many springs throwing out abundantly at great mouths, a kind of blacke substance like unto tarre, which serveth all the countrey to make stanch their barkes and boates: every one of these springs maketh a noise like unto a Smiths forge in the blowing & puffing out of this matter, which never ceaseth night nor day, and the noise may be heard a mile off continually. This vale swalloweth up all heaieve things that come upon it. The people of the countrey cal it in their language Babil gehenham, that is to say, Hell doore. As we passed through these deserts, we saw certaine wild beasts, as wild asses all white, Roebucks,



wolfes, leopards, foxes, and many hares, whereof we chased and killed many. Aborise the king of the wandering Arabians in these deserts, hath a dutie of 40.s. sterling, upon every Camels lode, which he sendeth his officers to receive of the Caravans, and in consideration hereof, he taketh upon him to conduct the sayd Caravans if they need his helpe, and to defend them against certaine prowling thieves. I and my companion William Shales came to Aleppo with the Caravan the eleventh of June, 1584. where we were joyfully received 20. miles distant from the towne by M. William Barret our Consull, accompanied with his people and Janissaries, who fell sicke immediately and departed this life within 8. dayes after, and elected before his death M. Anthonie Bate Consul of our English nation in his place, who laudably supplied the same roome 3. yeeres. In which meane time, I made two voyages more unto Babylon, and returned by the way aforesayd, over the deserts of Arabia. And afterwards, as one desirous to see other parts of the countrey, I went from Aleppo to Antioch, which is thence 60. English miles, and from thence went downe to Tripolis, where going aboard a small vessell, I arrived at Joppe, and travelled to Rama, Lycia, Gaza, Jerusalem, Bethleem, to the river of Jordan, and the sea or lake of Zodome, and returned backe to Joppe, & from thence by sea to Tripolis, of which places because many others have published large discourses, I surcease to write. Within few dayes after imbarcking my selfe at Tripolis the 22. of December, I arrived (God be thanked) in safety here in the river of Thames with divers English marchants, the 26. of March, 1588, in the Hercules of London, which was the richest ship of English marchants goods that ever was knowen to come into this realme.

The money and measures of Babylon, Balsara, and the Indies, with the customes, &c. written from Aleppo in Syria, An. 1584. by M. Will. Barret.

#### BABYLON :

The weight, measure, and money currant there, and the customes of merchandize.

A MANA of Babylon is of Aleppo 1 roue 5 ounces and a halfe: and 68 manas and three seventh parts, make a quintall of Aleppo, which is 494 li. 8. ounces of London :

and 100 manas is a quintall of Babylon, which maketh in Aleppo 146 rouses, and of London 722 li. and so much is the sayd quintall: but the marchants accord is by so much the mana, and in the sayd place they bate the tare in all sorts of commodities, according to the order of Aleppo touching the tare.

The measure of Babylon is greater then that of Aleppo 21 in ye 100. For bringing 100 pikes of any measurable ware from Aleppo thither, there is found but 82 pikes in Babylon, so that the 100 pikes of Babylon is of Aleppo 121 pikes, very litle lesse.

The currant mony of Babylon are Saies, which Say is 5 medines, as in Aleppo, and 40 medines being 8. Saies make a duckat currant, and 47 medines passe in value as the duckat of gold of Venice, and the dollars of the best sort are worth 33 medines. The roials of plate are sold by the 100 drams at prise, according as they be in request: but amongst the marchants they bargaine by the 100 metrals, which are 150 drams of Aleppo, which 150 drams are 135 single roials of plate: but in the mint or castle, they take them by the 100 drams, which is 90 roials of plate, and those of the mint give 5 medines lesse in each 100 drams then they are woorth to be sold among the marchants, and make paiement at the terme of 40 dayes in Sayes.

The custome in Babylon, as wel inward as outward, is in this maner: Small wares at 6 per 100, Coral and amber at 5 and a halfe per 100, Venice cloth, English cloth, Kersies, Mockairs, Chamblets, Silks, Velvets, Damasks, Sattins & such like at 5 per 100: & they rate the goods without reason as they lust themselves. The Toafo, Boabo, and other exactions 6 medines per bale, all which they pay presently in ready mony, according to the custome and use of the emperor.

To the Ermin of the mint ye ordinarie use is to give 30 Saies in curtesie, otherwise he would by authoritie of his office come aboard, & for despight make such search in the barke, that he would turne all things topsie turvie.

#### BALSARA :

The weight, measure, and money in the citie of Balsara. A MANA of Balsara answereth 5 rouses 2 ounces & a halfe of Aleppo weight, & 19 manas and one 4 part of Balsara,

answereth the quintall of Aleppo, which is 494 rous, 8 ounces English, and 20 manas is the quintall of Balsara, which is 104 Alepine, and of London 514 li. 8. ounces, and so much is the sayd quintall, but the marchants bargaine at so much the mana or wolsene (which is all one) and they abate the tare in every mana, as the sort of spice is, and the order taken therefore in that place.

The measure of Balsara is called a pike, which is just as the measure of Babylon, to say, 100 pikes of Balsara make of Aleppo 121 pikes, ut supra in the rate of Babylon.

The currant mony of Balsara is as foloweth. There is a sort of flusses of copper called Estivi, whereof 12 make a mamedine, which is the value of one medine Aleppine, the said mamedine is of silver, having the Moresco stampe on both sides, and two of these make a danine, which is 2 medines Aleppine.

The said danine is of silver, having the Turkesco stampe on both sides, & 2 and a halfe of these make a Saie, which is in value as the Saie of Aleppo.

The said Saie is of the similitude and stampe of Aleppo, being (as appeares) 60 estives. Also one Say and 20 estives make a larine, which is of Aleppo money 6 medines and a halfe.

The sayd larine is a strange piece of money, not being round as all other currant money in Christianitie, but is a small rod of silver of the greatnesse of the pen of a goose feather, wherewith we use to write, and in length about one eight part thereof, which is wrested, so that the two ends meet at the just halfe part, and in the head thereof is a stampe Turkesco, and these be the best currant money in all the Indias, and 6 of these larines make a duckat, which is 40 medines or eight Saies of Aleppo.

The duckat of gold is woorth there 7 larines, and one danine, which is of Aleppo money 48 medines and a halfe.

The Venetian money is worth larines 88 per 100 meticals, which is 150 drams of Aleppo, ut supra.

The roials of plate are worth 88 larines by the 100 meticals, & albeit among the marchants they sel by the 100 meticals, yet in the mint or castle, they sel by the 100 drams, having there lesse then the worth 5 medines in each hundred drams, and have their paiement in 40 dayes made them in Saies or larines.

The custome of the said places, aswell inward as outward, are alike of all sorts of goods, to say 6 by the 100, and Toafo, Boabo, & scrivan medines 6 by the bale inward & outward, to say, 3 inward, and as much outward: but who so leaveth his goods in the custome house paieth nothing, where otherwise at the taking thereof away, he should pay 3 med. by the bale, and of the said goods there is no other duty to pay, and this commeth to passe when the customers esteeme the goods too high. For in such a case they may be driven to take so much commoditie as the custome amounteth to, and not to pay them in money, for such is the order from the Grand Signior.

Having paid the custome, it behoveth to have a quit-tance or cocket sealed and firmed with the customers hand, in confirmation of the dispatch and clearing, and before departure thence, to cause the sayd customer to cause search to be made, to the end that at the voiaiges returne there be no cavillation made, as it oftentimes happeneth.

Note that 100 meticals of Balsara weigh 17 ounces and a halfe sottile Venetian, and of Aleppo drams 150, ut supra.

The freight of the barkes from Ormuz to Balsara, I would say from Balsara to Ormuz, they pay according to the greatnesse thereof. To say, for cariage of 10 cares 180 larines, those of 15 cares 270 larines, those of 20 cares 360 larines, those of 30 cares 540 larines. Note that a cara is 4 quintals of Balsara. They pay also to the pilot of the barke for his owne cariage one care, and to all the rest of the mariners amongst them 3 cares freight, which is in the whole 4 cares, and paying the abovesayd prises and freights, they are at no charges of victuals with them, but it is requisite that the same be declared in the charter partie, with the condition that they lade not aboard one rotilo more then the freight, under paines that finding more in Ormuz, it is forfeit, and besides that to pay the freight of that which they have laden.

And in this accord it behoveth to deale warilie, and in the presence of the Ermin or some other honest man (whereof there are but few) for they are the worst people in all Arabia. And this diligence must be put in execution, to the end the barks may not be overladen, because

they are to passe many sands betwixt Balsara and Ormuz.

#### ORMUZ :

The weight, measure, and money currant in the kingdom of Ormuz :

SPICES and drugs they weigh by the bar, and of every sort of goods the weight is different. To say, of some drugs 3 quintals, and 3 erubi or roues, and other some 4 quintals 25 rotiles, and yet both is called a barre, which barre, as well great as litle, is 20 frasoli, and every frasoll is 10 manas, and every mana 23 chiansi, and every chianso 10 meticals and a halfe. Note that every quintall maketh 4 erubi or roues, and every roue 32 rotiles, & every rotile 16 ounces, and every ounce 7 meticals, so that the quintall commeth to be 128 rotiles, which is Aleppine 26 rotiles and one third part, which is 132 li. english weight. And contrarywise ye quintal of Aleppo (which is 494 rotiles 8 ounces english) maketh 477 rotiles and a halfe of Ormuz, which is 3 quintals 2 roues, 29 rotiles and a halfe.

Note that there are bars of divers weights, ut supra, of which they bargain simply, according to the sort of commoditie, but if they bargain of the great barre, the same is 7 quintals and 24 rotiles, which is 958 li. 9 ounces of London weight, and of Aleppo 193 rotiles and a halfe.

Touching the money of Ormuz, they bargain in marchandize at so many leches by the barre, which lech is 100 Asaries, and maketh larines 100 & a halfe, which maketh pardaos 38, & larines one halfe, at larines 5 by the pardao. One asarie is sadines 10, and every sadine is 100. danarie.

The larine is worth 5 sadines and one fourth part, so that the sadine is worth of Aleppo mony 1 medine and 1 fourth part, & the larine as in Balsara worth of Aleppo mony 6 medines & a half.

The pardao is 5 larines of Balsara.

There is also stamped in Ormuz a seraphine of gold, which is litle and round, and is worth 24 sadines, which maketh 30 medines of Aleppo.

The Venetian mony is worth in Ormuz larines 88 per 100 meticals, & the roials are worth larines 86 lesse one sadine, which is every thousand meticals, 382 asures :



but those that will not sel them, use to melt them, and make them so many larines in the king of Ormuz his mint, whereby they cleare 2 per 100, and somewhat more : and this they doe because neither Venetian money nor roials run as currant in Ormuz, per advise.

The measure of Ormuz is of 2 sorts, the one called codo which increaseth upon the measure of Aleppo 3 per 100, for bringing 100 pikes of any measurable wares from Aleppo to Ormuz, it is found in Ormuz to be 103 codes. Also these measures of Ormuz increase upon those of Balsara and Babylon 25 and two third parts per 100 : for bringing 100 pikes of any measurable wares from Balsara or Babylon, there is found in Ormuz 125 codes and two third parts.

The other measure is called a vare, which was sent from the king of Portugall to the India, by which they sell things of small value, which measure is of 5 palmes or spans, and is one code and two third parts, so that buying 100 codes of any measurable wares, and returning to measure it by the sayd vare, there are found but 60 vares, contrarywise 100 vares make 166 codes and two third parts.

Note that al such ships as lade horses in Ormuz for Goa or any other place of India, lading 10 horses or upwards, in what places soever the said horses be taken a shore in the India, the marchandize which is to be discharged out of that ship wherein the said horses come, are bound to pay no custome at all, but if they lade one horse lesse then ten, then the goods are bound to pay the whole custome. And this law was made by Don Emanuel king of Portugall, but it is to be diligently foreseene, whither all those horses laden be bound to pay the king his custome : for many times by the king of Portugall his commandement, there is favour shewed to the king of Cochin his brother in armes, so that his horses that come in the same ship, are not to answere custome. As for example : If there were 4 horses laden in one ship, all which were to pay custome to the king, and one other of the king of Cochins which were not to pay any custome, the same causeth all the marchandize of that ship to be subject to pay custome, per advise. But if they lade ten horses upon purpose to pay the king his custome in Goa, and in the voyage any of them should die in that case, if they bring the taile of the dead horse

to the custome in Goa, then the marchandize is free from all custome, because they were laden in Ormuz to pay custome in Goa. Moreover, if the horses should die before the midst of the voyage, they pay no custome at all, and if they die in the mids of the voyage, then they pay halfe custome, but if any horse die after the mid voiage, they pay custome no lesse then if they arrive safe. Notwithstanding, the merchandize (whether the said horses die before or in the mid voyage or after the mid voiage) are free from all custome.

The custome of Ormuz is eleven in the 100, to say, 10 for the king, and 1 for the arming of the foists: but for small wares as glasses, and looking glasses of all sorts, and such like, made for apparell, pay no custome. But cloth of Wooll, Karsies, Mockaires, Chamlets, and all sortes of Silke, Saffron, and such like, pay custome, being esteemed reasonably.

There is also another custome, which they call caida, which is, that one bringing his goods into Ormuz, with purpose to send ye same further into India, the same are bound to pay 3 by the 100, but none other are bound to pay this custome, except the Armenians, Moores, and Jewes: for the Portugals and Venetians pay nothing thereof.

Note y<sup>t</sup> in Ormuz they abate tare of all sorts of commodities, by an order observed of custome.

The freight from Ormuz to Chaul, Goa, and Cochín, is as foloweth: Mokaires larines 6 per table of 60 pikes. Aquariosa 8 larines by ordinarie chist, raisins 10 by chist, which is a quintall of roues 128. Ruvia of Chalangi larines 10 per quintall, glasses larines 8 per chist, of 4 foote and a halfe, glasses in great chists 14 & 15 larines by chist. Small wares larines 12 by chist of five foot. Tamari for Maschat sadines 2 and a half, and 3 by the fardle. Tamarie for Diu and Chaul 4 sadines, and 4 and a halfe by bale. Other drugs and things which come from Persia pay according to the greatnesse of the bales.

The freight mentioned, they pay as appeareth, when they ship the sayd goods in ships where horses goe: otherwise not having horses, they pay somewhat lesse, because of the custom which they are to pay.

The use of the India ships is, that the patrones thereof are not at any charge neither with any passenger, nor yet with any mariner in the ship, but that every one at the

beginning of the voyage doe furnish to maintaine his owne table (if he will eate) and for drinke they have a great jarre of water, which is garded with great custodie.

## GOA.

The weight, measure, and mony currant in Goa.

THE quintall of Goa is 5 manas, and 8 larines, & the mana is 24 rotilos, so that the quintall of Goa is 128 rot. and every rot. is 16 ounces, which is of Venice weight 1 li. and a halfe, so that the quintall of Goa is 192 li. sotile Venice, which is 26 rotiloes 8 ounces Aleppine, and of London weight 132 li. English, as the weight of Ormuz.

All the marchandize, spices and drugs, are sold by this quintal, except some drugs, as lignum de China, Galanga, & others, whereof they bargaine at so much per candill, advertising that there be two sorts of candill, one of 16 manas, the other of 20 manas, that of 16 manas commeth to be just 3 quintals, and that of 20 manas, 3 quintals, 3 rous. Note that 4 rous make a quintall, and the roue is 32 rotiloes, as in Ormuz.

There is also another weight which they call Marco, which is eight ounces or halfe a rotilo of Goa, & 9 ounces of Venice sotile: with this they weigh amber, corall, muske, ambracan, civet, and other fine wares.

There is also another sort of weight called Mangiallino, which is 5 graines of Venice weight and therewith they weigh diamants and other jewels.

Note that in Goa they use not to abate any tare of any goods, except of sacks or wraps, & therefore it requireth great advisement in buying of the goods, especially in the muske of Tartaria which commeth by way of China in bladders, and so weigh it without any tare rebating.

The measure of Goa is called a tode, which encreaseth upon the measure of Babylon & Balsara after the rate of 17 & one eight part by the 100, so that bringing 100 pikes of any measurable ware from thence to Goa, it is found 117 pikes 7 eight parts, and bringing 100 codes from Ormuz to Goa, there is found but 93 codes and one fourth part.

There is also the vare in Goa, which is just as the vare of Ormuz, and therewith they measure onely things that are of small value.

For the mony of Goa, there is a kind of mony made of lead and tin mingled, being thicke and round, and stamped on the one side with the spheare or globe of the world, and on the other side two arrowes & 5 rounds : and this kind of mony is called Basaruchi, and 15 of these make a vinton of naughty mony, and 5 vintons make a tanga, and 4 vintenas make a tanga of base money : so that the tanga of base mony is 60 basaruchies, and the tanga of good mony 75 basaruchies, & 5 tangas make a seraphine of gold, which in marchandize is worth 5 tangas good money : but if one would change them into basaruchies, he may have 5 tangas, and 16 basaruchies, which overplus they cal cerafagio, & when they bargain of the pardaw of gold, each pardaw is ment to be 6 tangas good mony, but in marchandize they use not to demaund pardawes of gold in Goa, except it be for jewels and horses, for all the rest they take of seraphins of silver, per adviso.

The roials of plate, I say, the roial of 8 are worth per custome & commandement of the king of Portugall 400 reies, and every rey is one basaruchie & one fourth part, which maketh tangas 6, and 53 basaruchies as their just value, but for that the said roials are excellent silver and currant in divers places of the India, and chiefly in Malacca, when the ships are to depart at their due times (called Monsons) every one to have the said roials pay more then they are worth, & the overplus, as is above-said they call serafagio. And first they give ye just value of the 100 roials of 8, and 5 tangas 50 basaruchies a piece, which done, they give seraphins 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15, untill 22 by the 100, according as they are in request.

The ducket of gold is worth 9 tangas and a halfe good money, and yet not stable in price, for that when the ships depart from Goa to Cochin, they pay them at 9 tangas and 3 fourth partes, and 10 tangas, and that is the most that they are woorth.

The larines are woorth by just value basaruchies 93 and 3 fourth parts, and 4 larines make a seraphine of silver, which is 5 tangas of good money, and these also have serafagion of 6, 7, 8, 10, untill 16, by the 100, for when the ships depart for the North, to say, for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, or Bassaim, all cary of the same, because it is money more currant then any other.

There is also a sort of seraphins of gold of the stampe of Ormuz, whereof there are but fewe in Goa, but being there, they are woorth five larines and somewhat more, according as they are in request.

There is also another litle sort of mony, round, having on the one side a crosse, and on the other side a crowne, which is woorth one halfe a tanga of good money, and another of the same stampe lesse then that which they call *Imitivo de buona moneda*, which is worth 18 basaruches 3 fourth parts a piece.

Note that if a man bargain in marchandize, it behoo-veth to demaund tangas of good money: for by nominating tangas onely, is understood to be base money of 60 basaruches, which wanteth of the good money ut supra.

The custome of Goa is 8 in the 100 inward, and as much outward, and the goods are esteemed justly rather to the marchants advantage then the kings. The custome they pay in this order. Comming with a ship from Ormuz to Goa without horses, they pay 8 in the 100 whether they sell part or all, but if they would carie of the sayd marchandise to any other place, they pay none other custome, except others buy it and carie it forth of the countrey, and then they pay it 8 in the 100. And if one having paied the custome should sell to another with composition to passe it forth as for his proper accounts to save the custome, this may not be, because the seller is put to his oth, whether he send the goods for his owne account, or for the account of any others that have bought the same, and being found to the contrary, they pay custome as abovesaid. And in this order the marchants pay of all the goods which come from any part of the Indies. But if they come from Ormuz to Goa with horses, they are not subject to pay any custome inward, notwithstanding if they send all or any part thereof for any other place, or returne it to Ormuz, they pay the custome outward, although they could not sell.

They use also in Goa amongst the common sort to bargain for coales, wood, lime & such like, at so many braganines, accounting 24 basaruches for one braganine, albeit there is no such mony stamped. The custome of the Portugals is, that any Moore or Gentile, of what condition or state soever he be, may not depart from Goa to go within the land, without licence of certaine deputies



deputed for that office, who (if they be Moores or Gentiles) doe set a seale upon the arme, having thereon the armes of Portugal, to be knowne of the porters of the citie, whether they have the said licence or no.

### COCHIN.

The weight, measure, and money, currant in Cochin.

ALL the marchandise which they sell or buy within the sayd citie, they bargain for it at so many serafines per quintal, which is 128. rotulos of just weight with ye quintall & rotulo of Goa and Ormuz: advertising that there are divers sorts of bars according to the sorts of commodities, and in trafficking, they reason at so much the bar. Note that there are bars of 3 quintals & 3 quintals and halfe, and 4 quintals. They abate a used tare of all marchandize, according to the sort of goods, and order taken for the same.

The measure of Goa and Cochin are all one.

The money of Cochin are all the same sorts which are currant in Goa, but the duckat of gold in value is 10 tangas of good money.

The custome of Cochin as well inward as outward for all strangers, is eight in the hundred, but those that have bene married foure yeere in the countrey pay but foure in the hundred, per adviso.

### MALACCA.

The weight, measure, and money of Malacca.

For the marchandise bought and sold in the citie they reckon at so much the barre, which barre is of divers sorts, great and small, according to the ancient custome of the said citie, & diversitie of the goods. But for the cloves they bargain at so much the barre, which barre is 3 quintals, 2 rouses and 10 rotulos. As I have above-said, all kind of drugs have their sorts of barres limited. Note that every quintal is 4 rouses, and every rouse 32 rotulos, which is 128 rotulos the quintall, the which answereth to Aleppo 95 rotulos, and to London 472 li. per quintal.

The measures of Malacca are as the measures of Goa. In Malacca they abate tare according to their distinction and agreement, for that there is no just tare limited.

For the money of Malacca, the least money currant is of tinne stamped with the armes of Portugall, and 12 of these make a Chazza.

The Chazza is also of tinne with the said armes, and 2 of these make a challaine.

The Challaine is of tinne with the said armes, and 40 of these make a tanga of Goa good money, but not stamped in Malacca.

There is also a sort of silver money which they call Patachines, and is worth 6 tangas of good money, which is 360 reyes, and is stamped with two letters, S. T. which is S. Thomas on the one side, and the armes of Portugall on the other side.

There is also a kind of mony called cruzados stamped with the armes of Portugall, & is worth 6 tangas good mony, the larines are every 9 of them worth 2 cruzados, which is 12 tangas good money, and these larines be of those which are stamped in Balsara and Ormuz.

The roials of 8 they call Pardaos de Reales, and are worth 7 tangas of good money.

The custome of Malacca is 10 in the 100 as wel inward as outward, and those which pay the custome inwards, if in case they send the same goods for any other place within terme of a yeere and a day, pay no custome for the same.

A note of charges from Aleppo to Goa, as foloweth.

For camels from Aleppo to  
Birrha.

Medines 60 per somme.

For mules from Aleppo to  
Birrha,

med. 45. per somme.

For custome at Birrha,

med. 10. per somme.

For Avania of the Cady at  
Birrha,

med. 200.

For 4 dishes raisins, and 20  
pounds sope,

med. 35.

For a present to the Ermine  
the summe of

med. 400.

For a barke of 30 or 35  
sommess. Duc. 60 is

med. 2400. per barke.

For meat for the men the  
summe of

med. 200.

For custome at Racca the  
summe of

med. 5. per somme.

For 3 platters of raisins, and 15 pounds of sope,	med. 25.
For custome to king Abo- rissei, Duc. 20. is	med. 800.
For custome at Dea the summe of	med. 230 per barke.
For 4 dishes raisins, and 20. pounds of sope.	med. 35.
For custome at Bosara, the summe of	med. 10. per barke.
For 2 dishes raisins, and 10 pound of sope,	med. 17.
For custome in Anna, in 10 per summe,	med. 10. per somme.
For 4 dishes of raisins, and 20 pound of sope,	med. 35.
For custome in Adite, me- dines 10 per barke,	med. 10. per barke.
For 2 dishes raisins, and 10 pound of sope,	med. 17.
For custome at Gweke,	med. 10. per barke.
For 2 dishes raisins, and 20 pound of sope,	med. 17.
For custome in Ist,	med. 10. per somme.
For 4 platters raisins, and 20 pound of sope,	med. 35.
Charges of presents at Felugia,	med. 30.
For camels from Felugia to Babylon,	med. 30. per somme.
For custome in Babylon, as in the booke appeareth.	
For a barke from Babylon to Balsara,	med. 900.
For custome of small wares, at Corno.	med. 20. per somme.
For custome of clothes at Corno, the summe of	med. per somme.
For 3 dishes raisins, and 20 pound of sope,	med. 26.
For freight from Balsara to Ormus, according to the greatnesse, as in this booke appeareth.	
For custome in Ormus, as is abovesaid in this booke.	

For freight from Ormus to Goa, as is in this booke shewed.

For custome in Goa, as is abovesaid.

A declaration of the places from whence the goods subscribed doe come.

CLOVES, from Maluco, Tarenate, Amboina, by way of Java.

Nutmegs, from Banda.

Maces from Banda, Java, and Malacca.

Pepper Gawrie, from Cochin.

Pepper common, from Malabar.

Sinamon, from Seilan.

Tinne, from Malacca.

Sandals wilde, from Cochin.

Sandales domestick, from Malacca.

Verzini, from S. Thomas, and from China.

Spicknard, from Zindi, and Lahor.

Quicksilver, from China.

Galls, from Cambaia, Bengala, Istria & Syria.

Ginger Dabulin, from Dabul.

Ginger Belledin, from the Countrie within Cambaia.

Ginger Sorattin, from Sorat within Cambaia.

Ginger Mordassi, from Mordas within Cambaia.

Ginger Meckin, from Mecca.

Mirabolans of all sorts, from Cambaia.

White sucket from Zindi, Cambaia and China.

Corcunia, from divers places of India.

Corall of Levant, from Malabar.

Chomin, from Balsara.

Requitria, from Arabia Felix.

Garble of Nutmegs from Banda.

Sal Armoniacke, from Zindi and Cambaia.

Zedoari, from divers places of India.

Cubeb, from China.

Amomum, from China.

Camphora, from Brimeo neere to China.

Myrrha, from Arabia Felix.

Costo dulce, from Zindi, and Cambaia.

Borazo, from Cambaia, and Lahor.

Asa fetida, from Lahor.

Waxe, from Bengala.

Seragni, from Persia.

Cassia, from Cambaia, and from Gran Cayro.

- Storax calamita, from Rhodes, to say, from Aneda, and  
 Canemarie within Caramania.  
 Storax liquida, from Rhodes.  
 Tutia, from Persia.  
 Cagiers, from Malabar, and Maldiva.  
 Ruvia to die withall, from Chalangi.  
 Alumme di Rocca, from China, and Constantinople.  
 Chopra, from Cochin and Malabar.  
 Oppopanax, from Persia.  
 Lignum Aloes, from Cochin, China, and Malacca.  
 Demnar, from Siacca and Blinton.  
 Galangæ, from China, Chaul, Goa, & Cochin.  
 Laccha, from Pegu, and Balagvate.  
 Carabbe, from Almanie.  
 Coloquintida, from Cyprus.  
 Agaricum, from Alemania.  
 Scamonea, from Syria, and Persia.  
 Bdelium, from Arabia felix, and Mecca.  
 Cardamomum small, from Barcelona.  
 Cardamomum great, from Bengala.  
 Tamarinda, from Balsara.  
 Aloe Secutrina, from Secutra.  
 Aloe Epatica, from Pat.  
 Safran, from Balsara, and Persia.  
 Lignum de China, from China.  
 Rhaponticum, from Persia, and Puglia.  
 Thus, from Secutra.  
 Turbith, from Diu, and Cambaia.  
 Nuts of India, from Goa, and other places of India.  
 Nux vomica, from Malabar.  
 Sanguis Draconis, from Secutra.  
 Armoniago, from Persia.  
 Spodio di Cana, from Cochin.  
 Margaratina, from Balagvate.  
 Muske from Tartarie, by way of China.  
 Ambrachan, from Melinde, and Mosambique.  
 Indico, from Zindi and Cambaia.  
 Silkes fine, from China.  
 Long pepper, from Bengala and Malacca.  
 Latton, from China.  
 Momia, from the great Cayro.  
 Belzuinum Mandolalo, from Sian, and Baros.  
 Belzuinum burned, from Bonnia.  
 Castorium, from Almanie.



Corallina, from the red sea.  
 Masticke, from Sio.  
 Mella, from Romania.  
 Oppium, from Puglia, and Cambaia.  
 Calamus Aromaticus, from Constantinople.  
 Capari, from Alexandria and other places.  
 Dates, from Arabia felix, and Alexandria.  
 Dictamnium album, from Lombardia.  
 Draganti, from Morea.  
 Euphorbium, from Barbaria.  
 Epithymum, from Candia.  
 Sena, from Mecca.  
 Gumme Arabike, from Zaffo.  
 Grana, from Coronto.  
 Ladanum, from Cyprus and Candia.  
 Lapis lazzudis, from Persia.  
 Lapis Zudassi, from Zaffetto.  
 Lapis Spongii is found in sponges.  
 Lapis Hæmatites, from Almanie.  
 Manna, from Persia.  
 Auripigmentum, from manie places of Turkie.  
 Pilatro, from Barbaria.  
 Pistaches, from Doria.  
 Worme-seede, from Persia.  
 Sumack, from Cyprus.  
 Sebesten, from Cyprus.  
 Galbanum, from Persia.  
 Dente d'Abolio, from Melinde, and Mosambique.  
 Folium Indicum, from Goa, and Cochin.  
 Diasprum viride, from Cambaia.  
 Petra Bezzvar, from Tartaria.  
 Sarcacolla, from Persia.  
 Melleghete, from the West parts.  
 Sugo di Requillicie, from Arabia felix.  
 Chochenillo, from the West India.  
 Rubarbe, from Persia, and China.

The times or seasonable windes called Monsons, wherein  
 the ships depart from place to place in the East  
 Indies.

NOTE, that the Citie of Goa is the principall place of all  
 the Orientall India, and the winter there beginneth the  
 15 of May with very great raine, and so continueth till  
 the first of August, so that during that space, no shippe

can passe over the barre of Goa, because through the continuall shoures of raine all the sandes joyne together neere unto a mountaine called Oghane, and all these sandes being joyned together, runne into the shoales of the barre and port of Goa, and can have no other issue, but to remaine in that port, and therefore it is shut up untill the first of August, but at the 10 of August it openeth by reason of the raine which ceaseth, and the sea doeth then scour the sands away againe.

The monson from Goa to the Northward, to say, for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, Daman, Basaim, and other places.

The ships depart betwixt the tenth and 24 of August, for the Northward places abovesayde, and to these places they may saile all times of the yeere, except in the winter, which beginneth and endeth at the times abovesaid.

The monson from the North parts, for Goa.

The ships depart from Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, and other places Northwards for Goa, betwixt the 8 and 15 of Januarie, and come to Goa about the end of Februarie.

The first monson from Diu for the straight of Mecca.

The ships depart from Diu about the 15 of Januarie, and returne from the straights to Diu in the moneth of August.

The second monson from Diu for the straight of Mecca.

The ships depart betwixt the 25 and first of September, and returne from the straights to Diu, the first and 15 of May.

The monson from Secutra for Ormus.

The ships depart about the tenth of August for Ormus : albeit Secutra is an Island and hath but few ships, which depart as abovesaid.

The monson wherein the Moores of the firme land come to Goa.

About the fifteenth of September the Moores of the firme lande beginne to come to Goa, and they come from all parts, as well from Balagvate, Bezenegar, as also from Sudalcan, and other places.

The monson wherein the Moores of the firme land depart from Goa.

They depart from Goa betwixt the 10 and 15 day of November. Note that by going for the North is ment the departing from Goa, for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, Daman, Basaim, Ghassain, and other places unto Zindi: and by the South is understood, departing from Goa, for Cochin, and all that coast unto Cape Comori.

The first monson from Goa for Ormus.

The shippes depart in the moneth of October from Goa, for Ormus, passing with Easterly windes along the coast of Persia.

The second monson from Goa to Ormus.

The ships depart about the 20 of Januarie passing by the like navigation and windes as in the first monson, and this is called of the Portugals and Indians Entremonso.

The third monson from Goa to Ormus.

The ships depart betwixt the 25 of March, and 6 of Aprill, having Easterly windes, till they passe Secutra, and then they find Westerly windes, and therfore they set their course over for the coast of Arabia, till they come to Cape Rasalgate and the Straight of Ormus, and this monson is most troublesome of all: for they make two navigations in the heigh of Seylan, which is 6 degrees and somewhat lower.

The first monson from Ormus for Chaul  
and Goa.

The ships depart from Ormus for Chaul, and Goa in the moneth of September, with North and Northeast windes.

The second monson from Ormus for Chaul  
and Goa.

The second monson is betwixt the five and twentie and last of December, with like winds as the former monson.

The third monson from Ormus for Chaul,  
and Goa.

The third monson the ships depart from Ormus, for Chaul and Goa, betwixt the first and 15 of April, and they

saile with Southeast windes, East and Northeast windes, coasting upon the Arabia side from Cape Mosandon unto Cape Rasalgate, and having lost the sight of Cape Rasalgate, they have Westerly windes, and so come for Chaul and Goa, and if the said ships depart not before the 25 of April, they are not then to depart that monson, but to winter in Ormus because of the winter.

The first monson from Ormus for Zindi.

The ships depart for Ormus betwixt the 15 and 20 of Aprill.

The second monson from Ormus for Zindi.

The ships depart betwixt the 10 and 20 of October for Zindi from Ormus.

The monson from Ormus for the red sea.

The ships depart from Ormus betwixt the first and last of Januarie.

Hitherto I have noted the monsons of the ships departing from Goa to the Northward: Now follow the monsons wherein the ships depart from Goa to the Southward.

The monson from Goa for Calicut, Cochin, Seilan,  
and all that coast.

THE ships depart from those places betwixt the 1 and 15 of August, and there they find it navigable all the yeere except in the winter, which continueth as is aforesaid, from the 15 of May till the 10 of August. In like maner the ships come from these places for Goa at every time in the yeere except in the winter, but of all other the best time is to come in November, December and January.

The first monson from Goa, for Pegu.

The ships depart from Goa, betwixt the 15 and 20 of April, and winter at S. Thomas, and after the 5 of August, they depart from S. Thomas for Pegu.

The second monson from Goa for Pegu.

The ships depart from Goa betwixt the 8 and 24 of August, going straight for Pegu, and if they passe the 24 of August, they cannot passe that monson, neither is there any more monsons till April as is aforesaid. Note that the chiefest trade is, to take money of S.

Thomas rials, and patechoni, and to goe to S. Thomas, and there to buy Tellami, which is fine cloth of India, whereof there is great quantitie made in Coromandel, and brought thither, and other marchandise are not good for that place except some dozen of very faire Emeraulds orientall. For of golde, silver, and Rubies, there is sufficient store in Pegu.

The monson from Pegu for the Indies.

The ships depart from Pegu betwixt the 15 and 25 of Januarie, and come to Goa about the 25 of March, or in the beginning of April. Note, that if it passe the 10 of May before the sayde ships be arrived in Goa, they cannot come thither that monson, and if they have not then fet the coast of India, they shall with great perill fetch S. Thomas.

The first monson from Goa for Malacca.

The ships depart betwixt the 15 and last of September, and arrive in Malacca about the end of October.

The second monson from Goa to Malacca.

The ships depart about the 5 of May from Goa, and arrive in Malacca about the 15 of June.

The first monson from Malacca to Goa.

The ships depart about the 10 of September, and come to Goa about the end of October.

The second monson from Malacca to Goa.

The ships depart from Malacca about the 10 of February, and come to Goa about the end of March. But if the said ships should stay till the 10 of May, they cannot enter into Goa, and if at that time also they should not be arrived at Cochin, they are forced to returne to Malacca, because the winter and contrary windes then come upon them.

The monson from Goa for China.

The ships depart from Goa in the moneth of April.

The monson from China for Goa.

The ships depart to be the 10 of May in Goa, and being not then arrived, they turne backe to Cochin, and if they cannot fetch Cochin, they returne to Malacca.



The monson from Goa to the Moluccaes.

The ships depart about the 10 or 15 of May, which time being past, the shippes can not passe over the barre of Goa for the cause abovesaid.

The monson of the ships of the Moluccaes arrivall in Goa.

The ships which come from the Moluccaes arrive upon the bar of Goa about the 15 of April.

The monsons of the Portingall ships for the Indies.

The ships which come from Portugall depart thence ordinarily betwixt the tenth & fifteenth of March, comming the straight way during the moneth of July to the coast of Melinde, and Mosambique, and from thence goe straight for Goa, and if in the moneth of July they should not be at the coast of Melinde, they can in no wise that yeere fetch Melinde, but returne to the Isle of Saint Helena, and so are not able, that time being past, to fetch the coast of India, and to come straight for Goa. Therefore (as is abovesaid) they returne to the Island of Saint Helena, and if they cannot make the said Island, then they runne as lost upon the coast of Guinea: but if the said ships be arrived in time upon the coast of Melinde, they set forwardes for Goa, and if by the fifteenth of September they cannot fetch Goa, they then goe for Cochin, but if they see they cannot fetch Cochin, they returne to Mosambique to winter there upon the sayd coast. Albeit in the yeere of our Lord 1580 there arrived the ship called San Lorenzo, being wonderfull sore sea-beaten, the eight of October, which was accounted as a myracle for that the like had not bene seene before.

The monson from India for Portugall.

The shippes depart from Cochin betweene the fifteenth and last of January, going on till they have sight of Capo de buona speranza, and the Isle of Saint Helena, which Islande is about the midway, being in sixteene degrees to the South. And it is a litle Island being fruitfull of all things which a man can imagine, with great store of fruit: and this Island is a great succour to the shipping which returne for Portugall. And not long since the said Island was found by the Portugales, and was discovered by a shippe that came from the Indies in a great storme,

in which they found such abundance of wilde beastes, and boares, and all sort of fruite, that by meanes thereof that poore ship which had beene foure moneths at sea, refreshed themselves both with water and meate very well, and this Island they called S. Helena, because it was discovered upon S. Helens days. And undoubtedly this Island is a great succour, and so great an ayde to the ships of Portugall, that many would surely perish if that helpe wanted. And therefore the king of Portugall caused a Church to be made there for devotion of S. Helena: where there are onely resident Eremits, and all other are forbidden to inhabite there by the kings commaundement, to the ende that the ships may be the more sufficiently furnished with victuals, because the ships which come from India come but slenderly victualled, because there groweth no corne there, neither make they any wine: but the ships which come from Portugall to the Indies touch not in the sayd Island, because they set out being sufficiently furnished with bread and water from Portugall for eight moneths voyage. Any other people then the two Eremites abovesaid, cannot inhabite this Island, except some sicke man that may be set there a shore to remaine in the Eremites companie, for his helpe and recovery.

The monson from Goa to Mosambique.

The ships depart betwixt the 10 and 15 of Januarie.

The monson from Mosambique to Goa.

The ships depart betweene the 8 and last of August, and arrive in Chaul or Goa in the moneth of October, till the 15 of November.

The monson from Ormus to Bengala.

The ships depart betwixt the 15 and 20 of June, and goe to winter at Teve and depart thence about the 15 of August for Bengala.

The voyage passed by sea into Aegypt, by John Evesham Gentleman. Anno 1586.

THE 5 of December 1586 we departed from Gravesend in the Tiger of London, wherein was Master under God for the voyage Robert Rickman, and the 21. day at night we came to the Isle of Wight: departing from thence in the morning following we had a faire winde, so that on the

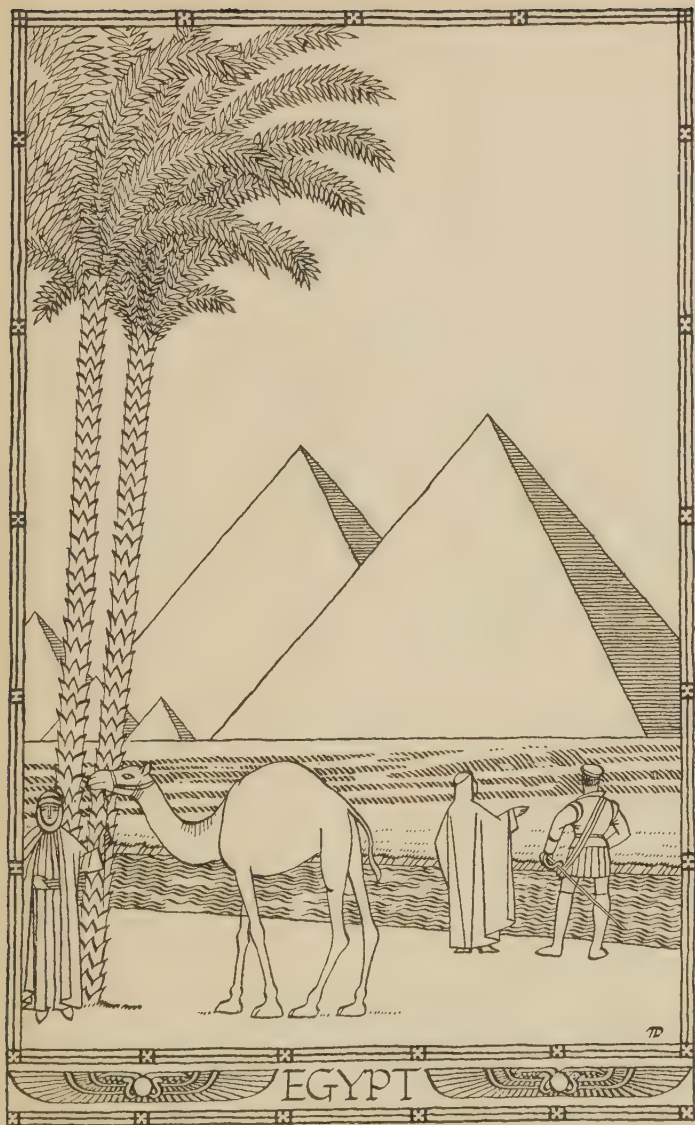
27 day wee came in sight of the rocke of Lisbon, and so sayling along we came in sight of the South Cape, the 29 of the same, and on the morrowe with a Westerly winde we entred the straights: and the second of January being as high as Cape de Gate, we departed from our fleete towards Argier. And the 4 day we arrived at the port of Argier aforesaid, where we staid till the first of March. At which time we set saile towards a place called Tunis, to the Eastward of Argier 100 leagues, where we arrived the 8 of the same. This Tunis is a small citie up 12 miles from the sea, and at the port or rode where shipping doe ride, is a castle or fort called Goletta, sometimes in the handes of the Christians, but now of the Turkes: at which place we remained till the third of Aprill: at which time wee set saile towards Alexandria, and having sometime faire windes, sometime contrary, we passed on the 12 day betweene Sicilia and Malta (where neere adjoyning hath beene the fort and holde of the knights of the Rhodes) and so the 19 day we fell with the Isle of Candy, and from thence to Alexandria, where we arrived the 27 of April, and there continued till the 5 of October.

The said citie of Alexandria is an old thing decayed or ruinated, having bene a faire and great citie neere two miles in length, being all vaulted underneath for provision of fresh water, which water commeth thither but once every yeere, out of one of the foure rivers of paradise (as it is termed) called Nilus, which in September floweth neere eightene foote upright higher then his accustomed manner, and so the banke being cut, as it were a sluice, about thirty miles from Alexandria, at a towne called Rossetto, it doth so come to the saide Citie, with such abundance, that barkes of twelve tunne doe come upon the same water, which water doth fill all the vaults, cesternes, and wels in the said Citie, with very good water, and doth so continue good, till the next yeere following: for they have there very litle raine or none at all, yet have they exceeding great dewes. Also they have very good corne, and very plentifull: all the Countrey is very hot, especially in the moneths of August, September, and October. Also within the saide Citie there is a pillar of Marble, called by the Turkes, King Pharaes needle, & it is foure square, every square is twelve foote, and it is in height 90 foote. Also there is

without the wals of the said Citie, about twentie score paces, another marble pillar, being round, called Pompey his pillar: this pillar standeth upon a great square stone, every square is fifteene foote, and the same stone is fifteene foote high, and the compasse of the pillar is 37 foote, and the heighth of it is 101 feete, which is a wonder to thinke how ever it was possible to set the said pillar upon the said square stone. The port of the said Citie is strongly fortified with two strong Castles, and one other Castle within the citie, being all very well planted with munition: and there is to the Eastward of this Citie, about three dayes journey the citie of Grand Cayro, otherwise called Memphis: it hath in it by report of the registers bookes which we did see, to the number of 2400 Churches, and is wonderfully populous, and is one dayes journey about the wals, which was journeyed by one of our Marriners for triall thereof. Also neere to the saide citie there is a place called the Pyramides, being, as I may well terme it, one of the nine wonders of the world: that is, seven severall places of flint and marble stone, foure square, the wals thereof are seven yards thicke in those places that we did see: the squarenes is in length about twentie score every square, being built as it were a pointed diamond, broad at the foote, and small or narrow at the toppe: the heighth of them, to our judgement, doth surmount twise the heighth of Paules steeple: within the saide Pyramides, no man doth know what there is, for that they have no entrance but in the one of them, there is a hole where the wall is broken, and so we went in there, having torch-light with us, for that it hath no light to it, and within the same, is as it were a great hall, in the which there is a costly tombe, which tombe they say, was made for king Pharaο in his life time, but he was not buried there, being drowned in the red sea: also there are certaine vaults or dungeons, which goe downe verie deepe under those Pyramides with faire staires, but no man dare venter to goe downe into them, by reason that they can cary no light with them, for the dampe of the earth doth put out the light: the red sea is but three daies journey from this place, and Jerusalem about seven dayes journey from thence: but to returne to Cayro. There is a Castle wherin is the house that Pharaοes wives were kept in, and in the Pallace or Court thereof stande 55 marble pillars, in such order, as our

Exchange standeth in London: the said pillars are in heighth 60 foote, and in compasse 14 foote: also in the said Citie is the castle where Joseph was in prison, where to this day they put in rich men, when the king would have any summe of money of them: there are seven gates to the sayd prison, and it goeth neere fiftie yardes downe right: also, the water that serveth this castle, commeth out of the foresaide river of Nilus, upon a wall made with arches, five miles long, and it is twelve foote thicke. Also there are in old Cayro two Monasteries, the one called S. Georges, the other S. Maries: & in the Courts where the Churches be, was the house of king Pharao. In this Citie is great store of marchandize, especially pepper, and nutmegs, which come thither by land, out of the East India: and it is very plentiful of all maner of victuals, especially of bread, rootes, and hearbes: to the Eastwards of Cayro, there is a Well, five miles off, called Matria, and as they say, when the Virgin Marie fled from Bethleem, and came into Ægypt, and being there, had neither water, nor any other thing to sustaine them, by the providence of God, an Angell came from heaven, and strake the ground with his wings, where presently issued out a fountaine of water: and the wall did open where the Israelites did hide themselves, which fountaine or well is walled foure square till this day. Also we were at an old Citie, all ruinated and destroyed, called in olde time, the great Citie of Carthage where Hannibal and Queene Dido dwelt: this Citie was but narrow, but was very long: for there was, and is yet to bee seene, one streete three mile long, to which Citie fresh water was brought upon arches (as afore) above 25 miles, of which arches some are standing to this day. Also we were at divers other places on the coast, as we came from Cayro, but of other antiquities we saw but few. The towne of Argier which was our first and last port, within the streights standeth upon the side of an hill, close upon the sea shore: it is very strong both by sea and land, and it is very well victualed with all manner of fruites, bread and fish good store, and very cheape. It is inhabited with Turkes, Moores, and Jewes, and so are Alexandria and Cayro. In this towne are a great number of Christian captives, wherof there are of Englishmen onely fifteene, from which port we set sayle towardes England, the seventh of Januarie, Anno 1587,







and the 30 day of the sayd moneth, we arrived at Dartmouth on the coast of England.

The second voyage of M. Laurence Aldersey, to the Cities of Alexandria, and Cayro in Ægypt. Anno 1586.

I EMBARKED my selfe at Bristoll, in the Hercules, a good ship of London, and set saile the 21 day of Februarie, about ten of the clocke in the morning, having a merry winde: but the 23 day, there arose a very great storme, and in the mids of it we descried a small boate of the burden of ten tunnes, with foure men in her, in very great danger, who called a maine for our helpe. Whereupon our Master made towards them, and tooke them into our ship, and let the boate, which was laden with timber, and appertained to Chepstow, to runne a drift. The same night about midnight arose another great storme, but the winde was large with us, untill the 27 of the same moneth, which then grew somewhat contrary: yet notwithstanding we held on our course, and the tenth day of March, we descried a saile about Cape Sprat, which is a litle on this side the streight of Gibraltare, but we spake not with her. The next day we descried twelve sayle more, with whom we thought to have spoken, to have learned what they were, but they made very fast away, and we gave them over.

Thursday the 16 of March, we had sight of the streights, and of the coast of Barbary. The 18 day we passed them, and sailed towards Patras. Upon the 23 of March, we met with the Centurion of London which came from Genoa, by whom we sent letters to England, and the foure men also which we tooke in, upon the coast of England, beforementioned.

The 29 of March we came to Goleta a small Iland, and had sight of two shippes, which we judged to be of England.

Tuesday the fourth of Aprill, we were before Malta, and being there becalmed, our Maister caused the two ship boates to be had out, and they towed the ship, till we were out of sight of the Castle of Malta. The 9 day of Aprill we came to Zante, and being before the towne, William Aldridge, servant to Master Thomas Cordall of London, came aboard us, with whom our Master and twelve more of our company, thought to

have gone on shoare, but they could not be permitted : so we all came aboard againe, and went to Patras, where we arrived upon good Friday, and lay there with good entertainment at the English house, where was the Consull Master Grimes, Ralph Ashley, and John Dodding-ton, who very kindly went with us, and shewed us the pleasures of the towne.

They brought us to the house of the Cady, who was made then to understand of the 20 Turks that wee had aboard, which were to goe to Constantinople, being redeemed out of captivitie, by sir Francis Drake in the West Indies, and brought with him into England, and by order of the Queenes Majestie sent now into their Countrey. Whereupon the Cady commaunded them to be brought before him, that he might see them : and when he had talked with them, and understood howe strangely they were delivered, hee marveled much, and admired the Queenes Majestie of England, who being but a woman, is notwithstanding of such power and renowne amongst all the princes of Christendome, with many other honourable wordes of commending her Majestie. So he tooke the names of those 20. Turkes, and recorded them in their great bookes, to remaine in perpetuall memory. After this, our foresaid countreyemen brought mee to the Chappel of S. Andrew where his tombe or sepulchre is, and the boord upon which he was beheaded, which boord is now so rotten, that if any man offer to cut it, it falleth to powder, yet I brought some of it away with me.

Upon Tuesday in Easter weeke, wee set out towards Zante againe, and the 24. of April with much adoe, wee were all permitted to come on shoare, and I was caried to the English house in Zante, where I was very well entertained. The commodities of Zante are Currans and oyle : the situation of the Towne is under a very great hill, upon which standeth a very strong Castle, which commaundeth the Towne. At Zante we tooke in a Capitaine and 16. souldiers, with other passengers. Wee departed from Zante upon Tuesday the 15. of April, and the next day we ankered at a small Island, called Strivalaia, which is desolate of people, saving a fewe religious men, who entertained us well, without taking any money : but of courtesie we bestowed somewhat upon them for their maintenance, and then they gave us a couple of leane sheepe, which we caried aboard. The

last day of Aprill, wee arrived at Candie, at a Castle, called Sowday, where wee set the Captaine, Souldiers, and Mariners ashoare, which wee tooke in at Zante, with all their carriage.

The second day of May wee set saile againe, and the fourth day came to the Islands of Milo, where we ankered, and found the people there very courteous, and tooke in such necessaries as we wanted. The Islands are in my judgement a hundred in number, and all within the compasse of a hundred miles.

The 11. day, the Chaus, which is the greatest man there in authoritie, for certaine offences done in a little Chappell by the water side, which they saide one of our shippe had done, and imputed it to mee, because I was seene goe into it three dayes before, came to us, and made much a doe, so that we were faine to come out of our shippe armed: but by three pieces of golde the brabbling was ended, and we came to our shippe. This day wee also set saile, and the next day passed by the Castle of Serpeto, which is an old ruinated thing, and standeth under a hils side.

The 13. day we passed by the Island of Paris, and the Island of the bankes of Helicon, and the Island called Ditter, where are many boares, and the women bee witches. The same day also wee passed by the Castle of Tino, standing upon a very high mountaine, and neere unto it is the Island of Diana.

The 15. of May, wee came to Sio, where I stayed thirtie and three dayes. In it is a very proper Towne, after the building of that Countrey, and the people are civil: and while we were here, there came in sixe Gallies, which had bene at Alexandria, and one of them which was the Admiral, had a Prince of the Moores prisoner, whom they tooke about Alexandria, and they meant to present him to the Turke. The towne standeth in a valley, and a long the water side pleasantly. There are about 26. winde-mills about it, and the commodities of it are cotton wooll, cotton yarne, mastike, and some other drugs.

As we remained at Sio, there grew a great controversie betweene the mariners of the Hercules, and the Greekes of the Towne of Sio, about the bringing home of the Turkes, which the Greekes tooke in ill part, and the boyes cried out, Vive el Re Philippe: whereupon our



men beate the boyes, and threwe stones, and so a broile beganne, and some of our men were hurt : but the Greekes were fetcht out of their houses, and manacled together with yrons, and threatned to the Gallies : about fourtie of them were sent to the prison, and what became of them, when we were gone, we know not, for we went thence within two dayes after, which was the 19. of June.

The 20. day wee passed by the Island of Singonina, an Island risen by the casting of stones in that place : the substance of the ground there is brimstone, and burneth sometimes so much that it bloweth up the rockes.

The 24. of June wee came to Cyprus, and had sight in the way of the aforesaide sixe Gallies, that came from Alexandria, one whereof came unto us, and required a present for himselfe, and for two of the other Gallies, which we for quietnesse sake gave them.

The 27. of June, wee came to Tripolie, where I stayed till the fift of July, and then tooke passage in a smal barke called a Caramusalin, which was a passage boat, and was bound for Bichieri, thirteene miles on this side Alexandria, which boate was freighted with Turkes, Moores, and Jewes.

The 20. day of July, this barke which I passed in ranne upon a rocke, and was in very great danger, so that we all began some to be ready to swimme, some to leape into the shippe boate, but it pleased God to set us quickly off the rocke, and without much harme.

The 28. of July I came to Bichieri, where I was well entertained of a Jewe which was the Customer there, giving me Muskadine, and drinking water himselfe : having broken my fast with him, he provided mee a Camell for my carriage, and a Mule for mee to ride upon, and a Moore to runne by me to the City of Alexandria, who had charge to see mee safe in the English house, whither I came, but found no Englishmen there : but then my guide brought mee aboard a ship of Alderman Martins, called the Tyger of London, where I was well received of the Master of the said ship, whose name was Thomas Rickman, and of all the company.

The said Master having made me good cheere, and made me also to drinke of the water of Nilus, having the keyes of the English house, went thither with me himselfe, & appointed mee a faire chamber, and left a man with me to provide me all things that I needed, and every

day came himsele to me, and caried me into the City, and shewed me the monuments thereof, which be these.

Hee brought mee first to Pompey his pillar, which is a mighty thing of gray marble, and all of one stone, in height by estimation above 52. yards, and the compasse about sixe fadome.

The City hath three gates, one called the gate of Barbaria, the other of Merina, and the thirde of Rossetto.

He brought me to a stone in the streete of the Citie, whereupon S. Marke was beheaded: to the place where S. Katherine died, having there hid herselfe, because she would not marry: also to the Bath of S. Katherine.

I saw there also Pharaos needle, which is a thing in height almost equall with Pompeys pillar, and is in compasse five fadome, and a halfe, and all of one stone.

I was brought also to a most brave and daintie Bath, where we washed our selves: the Bath being of marble, and of very curious workmanship.

The Citie standeth upon great arches, or vawtes, like unto Churches, with mightie pillars of marble, to holde up the foundation: which arches are built to receive the water of the river of Nilus, which is for the use of the Citie. It hath three Castles, and a hundred Churches: but the part that is destroyed of it, is sixe times more then that part which standeth.

The last day of July, I departed from Alexandria towards Cayro in a passage boate, wherein first I went to Rossetto, standing by the river side, having 13. or 14. great churches in it, their building there is of stone and bricke, but as for lodging, there is litle, except we bring it with us.

From Rossetto wee passed along the river of Nilus, which is so famous in the world, twice as broad as the Thames at London: on both sides grow date trees in great abundance. The people be rude, insomuch that a man cannot traveile without a Janizary to conduct him.

The time that I stayed in Ægypt was the Turkes and Moores Lent, in all which time they burne lamps in their churches, as many as may hang in them: their Lent endureth 40. dayes, and they have three Lents in the yere: during which time they neither eate nor drink in the day time, but all the night they do nothing else.

Betwixt Rossetto and Cayro there are along the water

side three hundred cities and townes, and the length of the way is not above three hundred miles.

To this famous Citie of Cayro I came the fift day of August, where I found M. William Alday, and William Cæsar, who entertained me in very good sort. M. Cæsar brought mee to see the Pyramides which are three in number, one whereof king Pharao made for his owne tombe, the tombe it selfe is almost in the top of it: the monuments bee high and in forme 4. square, and every of the squares is as long as a man may shoote a roving arrowe, and as high as a Church, I sawe also the ruines of the Citie of Memphis hard by those Pyramides.

The house of Joseph is yet standing in Cayro, which is a sumptuous thing, having a place to walke in of 56. mighty pillars, all gilt with gold, but I saw it not, being then lame.

The 11. day of August the lande was cut at Cayro, to let in the water of the river of Nilus, which was done with great joy and triumph.

The 12. of August I set from Cayro towards Alexandria againe, and came thither the 14. of August. The 26. day there was kept a great feast of the Turkes and Moores, which lasted two dayes, and for a day they never ceased shooting off of great Ordinance.

From Alexandria I sailed to Argier, where I lay with M. Typton Consull of the English nation, who used me most kindly, and at his owne charge. Hee brought mee to the kings Court, and into the presence of the King, to see him, and the maners of the Court: the King doeth onely beare the name of a King, but the greatest government is in the hands of the souldiers.

The king of Potanca is prisoner in Argier, who coming to Constantinople, to acknowledge a duety to the great Turke, was betrayed by his owne nephew, who wrote to the Turke, that hee went onely as a spy, by that meanes to get his kingdome. I heard at Argier of seven Gallies that were at that time cast away at a towne called Formentera: three of them were of Argier, the other foure were the Christians.

We found here also 13. Englishmen, which were by force of weather put into the bay of Tunis, where they were very ill used by the Moores, who forced them to leave their barke: whereupon they went to the Councell of Argier, to require a redresse and remedy for the injurie.

They were all belonging to the shippe, called the Golden Noble of London, whereof Master Birde is owner. The Master was Stephen Haselwood, and the Captaine Edmond Bence.

The thirde day of December, the pinnesse called the Mooneshine of London, came to Argier with a prize, which they tooke upon the coast of Spaine, laden with sugar, hides, and ginger: the pinnesse also belonging to the Golden Noble: and at Argier they made sale both of shippe and goods, where wee left them at our comming away, which was the seventh day of Januarie, and the first day of February, I landed at Dartmouth, and the seventh day came to London, with humble thanks to Almighty God, for my safe arrivall.

A true report of a worthy fight, performed in the voyage from Turkie, by five Ships of London, against 11. Gallies, and two Frigats of the King of Spaines, at Pantalarea within the Streights, Anno, 1586. Written by Philip Jones.

THE Marchants of London, being of the incorporation of the Turkey trade, having received intelligences, and advertisements, from time to time, that the King of Spaine grudging at the prosperitie of this kingdome, had not onely of late arrested al English ships, bodies, and goods, in Spaine, but also maligning the quiet trafique which they used to and in the dominions, and provinces, under the obedience of the Great Turke, had given order to the Captaines of his gallies in the Levant, to hinder the passage of all English ships, and to endeavour by their best meanes, to intercept, take, and spoile them, their persons, and goods: they hereupon thought it their best course to set out their fleete for Turkie, in such strength and abilitie for their defence, that the purpose of their Spanish enemy might the better be prevented, and the voyage accomplished with greater securitie to the men and shippes. For which cause, five tall, and stoute shippes, appertaining to London, and intending onely a Marchants voyage, were provided and furnished with all things belonging to the Seas; the names whereof were these:

1. The Marchant Royall, a very brave and good shippe, and of great report.
2. The Tobie.

3. The Edward Bonaventure.
4. The William, and John.
5. The Susan.

These five departing from the coast of England, in the moneth of November 1585. kept together as one fleete, til they came as high as the Isle of Sicile, within the Levant. And there, according to the order and direction of the voyage, each shippe began to take leave of the rest, and to separate himselfe, setting his course for the particular port, whereunto hee was bounde: one for Tripolie in Syria, another for Constantinople, the chiefe Citie of the Turkes Empire, situated upon the coast of Romania, called of olde, Thracia, and the rest to those places, whereunto they were privatly appointed. But before they devided themselves, they altogether consulted, of and about a certaine and speciall place for their meeting againe after the lading of their goods at their severall portes. And in conclusion, the generall agreement was to meete at Zante, an Island neere to the maine continent of the West part of Morea, well known of all the Pilots, & thought to be the fittest place of their Rendevous. Concerning which meeting, it was also covenanted on eche side, and promised, that whatsoever ship of these 5. should first arrive at Zante, should there stay and expect the comming of the rest of the fleete, for the space of twentie dayes. This being done, ech man made his best hast according as winde and wether woulde serve him to fulfill his course, and to dispatch his businesse; and no neede was there to admonish or incourage any man, seeing no time was ill spent, nor opportunitie omitted on any side, in the performance of ech mans duetie, according to his place.

It fell out that the Tobie which was bound for Constantinople had made such good speede, and gotten such good weather, that she first of al the rest came back to the appointed place of Zante, and not forgetting the former conclusion, did there cast ancre, attending the arrivall of the rest of the fleete, which accordingly (their busines first performed) failed not to keepe promise. The first next after the Tobie was the Royal Marchant, which together with the William and John came from Tripolie in Syria, and arrived at Zante within the compasse of the foresaide time limitted. These ships in token of the joy on all parts conceived for their happy meeting, spared







*Drawn by Thomas Derrick from a drawing in the  
Oriental Room of the British Museum*

not the discharging of their Ordinance, the sounding of drums & trumpets, the spreading of Ensignes with other warlike and joyfull behaviours, expressing by these outward signes, the inward gladnesse of their mindes, being all as ready to joyne together in mutuall consent to resist the cruel enemie, as now in sporting maner they made myrth and pastime among themselves. These three had not bene long in the haven, but the Edward Bonaventure also, together with the Susan her consort, were come from Venice with their lading, the sight of whom increased the joy of the rest, and they no lesse glad of the presence of the others, saluted them in most friendly and kinde sort, according to the maner of the Seas: and whereas some of these ships stode at that instant in some want of victuals, they were all content to stay in the port, till the necessities of ech shippe were supplied, and nothing wanted to set out for their returne.

In this port of Zante, the newes was fresh and currant, of two severall armies and fleetes provided by the king of Spaine, and lying in waite to intercept them: the one consisting of 30. strong Gallies, so well appointed in all respects for the warre, that no necessary thing wanted: and this fleete hovered about the Streights of Gibraltar. The other armie had in it 20. Gallies, whereof some were of Sicillie, and some of the Island of Malta, under the charge and government of John Andrea Dorea, a Capitaine of name serving the king of Spaine. These two divers and strong fleetes waited and attended in the Seas for none, but the English shippes, and no doubt made their accompt and sure reckoning that not a shippe should escape their furie. And the opinion also of the inhabitants of the Isle of Zante was, that in respect of the number of Gallies in both these armies, having received such streight commandement from the king, our ships and men being but few, and little in comparison of them, it was a thing in humane reason impossible, that wee should passe either without spoiling, if we resisted, or without composition at the least, and acknowledgement of duetie to the Spanish king.

But it was neither the report of the attendance of these armies, nor the opinions of the people, nor any thing else, that could daunt or dismay the courages of our men, who grounding themselves upon the goodnesse of their cause, and the promise of God, to bee delivered

from such as without reason sought their destruction, caried resolute mindes, notwithstanding all impediments to adventure through the Seas, and to finish their Navigation, maugre the beards of the Spanish souldiers. But least they should seeme too carelesse, and too secure of their estate, and by laying the whole and entire burden of their safetie upon Gods providence, should foolishly presume altogether of his helpe, and neglect the meanes which was put into their handes, they failed not to enter into counsell among themselves, and to deliberate advisedly for their best defence. And in the end with generall consent, the Marchant Royall was appointed Admirall of the fleete, and the Tobie Viceadmiral, by whose orders the rest promised to be directed, and ech shippe vowed not to breake from another, whatsoever extremitie should fall out, but to stand to it to the death, for the honour of their Countrey, and the frustrating of the hope of the ambitious and proud enemie.

Thus in good order they left Zante and the Castle of Græcia, and committed themselves againe to the Seas, and proceeded in their course and voyage in quietnes, without sight of any enemie, till they came neere to Pantalarea, an Island so called, betwixt Sicilie, and the coast of Africke: into sight whereof they came the 13. day of July 1586. And the same day in the morning about 7. of the clocke they descried 13. sailes in number, which were of the Gallies, lying in waite of purpose for them, in and about that place. As soone as the English ships had spied them, they by and by according to a common order, made themselves ready for a fight, layed out their Ordinance, scoured, charged, and primed them, displayed their ensignes, and left nothing undone to arme themselves throughly. In the meane time, the Gallies more and more approched the ships, and in their banners there appeared the armes of the Isles of Sicilia, and Malta, being all as then in the service and pay of the Spaniard. Immediatly, both the Admirals of the Gallies sent from ech of them a frigate, to the Admiral of our English ships, which being come neere them, the Sicilian frigate first hailed them, and demanded of them whence they were? They answered that they were of England, the armes whereof appeared in their colours. Whereupon the saide frigate expostulated with them, and asked why they delayed to sende or come with their Captaines and

pursers to Don Pedro de Leiva their Generall, to acknowledge their duty and obedience to him in the name of the Spanish king, Lord of those seas? Our men replied, and said, that they owed no such duetie nor obedience to him, and therefore would acknowledge none, but commanded the frigate to depart with that answer, and not to stay longer a brabbling, upon her perill. With that away she went, and up comes toward them the other frigate of Malta, and shee in like sort hailed the Admiral, and would needs know whence they were, and where they had bene. Our Englishmen in the Admirall, not disdainig an answer, tolde them that they were of England, Marchants of London, had bene at Turkie, and were now returning home: and to be requited in this case, they also demaunded of the frigate whence she and the rest of the gallies were: the messenger answered, we are of Malta, and for mine owne part my name is Cavalero. These Gallies are in service and pay to the king of Spaine, under the conduct of Don Pedro de Leiva a noble man of Spaine, who hath bene commanded hither by the King with this present force and armie, of purpose to intercept you. You shall therefore (quoth he) do well to repaire to him to know his pleasure, he is a noble man of good behaviour and courtesie, and meanes you no ill. The Captaine of the English Admiral, whose name was M. Edward Wilkinson, replied and said. We purpose not at this time to make triall of Don Pedro his courtesie, whereof we are suspitious and doubtful, and not without good cause: using withall good words to the messenger, and willing him to come aboard him, promising securitie and good usage, that thereby he might the better knowe the Spaniards minde: whereupon he in deed left his frigate, and came aboard him, whom hee intertained in friendly sort, and caused a cuppe of wine to be drawne for him, which he tooke and beganne, with his cap in his hand, and with reverend termes to drinke to the health of the Queene of England, speaking very honourably of her Majestie, and giving good speeches of the courteous usage and interteinement that he himselfe had received in London, at the time that the duke of Alenson, brother to the late French king was last in England: and after he had well drunke, hee tooke his leave, speaking well of the sufficiencie and goodnesse of our shippes, and especially of the Marchant Royal, which he confessed to



have seene before, riding in the Thames neere London. He was no sooner come to Don Pedro de Leiva the Spanish general, but he was sent off againe, and returned to the English Admirall, saying that the pleasure of the Generall was this, that either their Captaines, Masters and Pursers should come to him with speed, or else hee would set upon them, and either take them or sinke them. The reply was made by M. Wilkinson aforesaid, that not a man should come to him: and for the bragge and threat of Don Pedro, it was not that Spanish bravado that should make them yeeld a jot to their hinderance, but they were as ready to make resistance, as he to offer an injurie. Whereupon Cavallero the messenger left bragging, and began to perswade them in quiet sort, and with many wordes, but all his labour was to no purpose, and as his threat did nothing terrifie them, so his perswasion did nothing moove them to doe that which hee required. At the last he intreated to have the Marchant of the Admirall caried by him as a messenger to the Generall, that so he might be satisfied, and assured of their mindes by one of their owne company. But M. Wilkinson would agree to no such thing, although Richard Rowit the marchant himselfe seemed willing to bee employed in that message, and laboured by reasonable perswasions to induce M. Wilkinson to graunt it, as hoping to be an occasion by his presence and discreet answeres to satisfie the Generall, and thereby to save the effusion of Christian blood, if it should grow to a battel. And he seemed so much the more willing to be sent, by how much deeper the othes and protestations of this Cavallero were, that he would (as hee was a true knight and a souldier) deliver him backe againe in safetie to his company. Albeit, M. Wilkinson, which by his long experience had received sufficient triall of Spanish inconstancie and perjurie, wished him in no case to put his life and libertie in hazard upon a Spaniards othe. But at last, upon much intreatie, hee yeelded to let him go to the General, thinking in deed, that good speeches and answeres of reason would have contented him, whereas otherwise refusall to do so, might peradventure have provoked the more discontentment.

M. Rowit therefore passing to the Spanish Generall, the rest of the Gallies having espied him, thought in deed that the English were rather determined to yeelde,

then to fight, and therefore came flocking about the frigate, every man crying out, *Que nuevas, que nuevas*, Have these English men yeelded? the frigate answered, Not so, they neither have, nor purpose to yeeld, onely they have sent a man of their company to speake with our Generall: and being come to the Gallie wherein he was, he shewed himselfe to M. Rowit in his armour, his guard of souldiers attending upon him in armour also, and began to speake very proudly in this sort: Thou Englishman, from whence is your fleete, why stand ye aloofe off, knowe ye not your duetie to the Catholique King, whose person I here represent? Where are your billes of lading, your letters, pasports, and the chiefe of your men? Thinke ye my attendance in these seas to be in vaine, or my person to no purpose? Let al these things be done out of hand as I command, upon paine of my further displeasure and the spoyle of you all: These wordes of the Spanish Generall were not so outrageously pronounced as they were mildly answered by M. Rowit, who tolde him that they were al Marchantmen, using trafique in honest sort, and seeking to passe quietly, if they were not urged further then reason. As for the king of Spaine, he thought (for his part) that there was amitie betwixt him and his soveraigne the Queene of England, so that neither he nor his officers should goe about to offer any such injurie to English Marchants, who as they were farre from giving offence to any man, so they would be loath to take an abuse at the handes of any, or sit downe to their losse, where their abilitie was able to make defence. And as touching his commandement aforesaide, for the acknowledging of duetie, in such particular sort, he told him, that where there was no dutie owing, there none should be performed, assuring him that their whole company and shippes in generall, stood resolutely upon the negative, and would not yeeld to any such unreasonable demaund, joyned with such imperious and absolute maner of commanding. Why then, said he, if they wil neither come to yeeld, nor shew obedience to me in the name of my king, I wil either sinke them or bring them to harbor, and so tell them from me. With that the frigate came away with M. Rowit, and brought him aboard the English Admiral againe according to promise: who was no sooner entred in, but by and by defiance was sounded on both sides: the Spaniards hewed off the noses of the

Gallies, that nothing might hinder the levell of the shot, and the English on the other side couragiously prepared themselves to the combat, every man according to his roome, bent to performe his office with alacritie and diligence. In the meane time a Cannon was discharged from the Admirall of the gallies, which being the onset of the fight, was presently answered by the English Admiral with a Culvering: so the skirmish began, and grew hot and terrible, there was no powder nor shot spared: ech English ship matched it selfe in good order against two Spanish Gallies, besides the inequality of the frigats on the Spaniards side: and although our men performed their parts with singular valure, according to their strength, insomuch that the enemie as amased therewith would oftentimes pause and stay, and consult what was best to be done, yet they ceased not in the midst of their businesse to make prayer to Almighty God the revenger of al evils, and the giver of victories, that it would please him to assist them in that good quarell of theirs, in defending themselves against to proud a tyrant, to teach their handes to warre, and their fingers to fight, that the glory of the victory might redound to his Name, and to the honor of true Religion which the insolent enemie sought so much to overthrowe. Contrarily, the foolish Spaniardes cried out according to their maner, not to God, but to our Lady (as they terme the virgin Mary) saying, O Lady helpe, O blessed Lady give us the victory, and the honor thereof shalbe thine. Thus with blowes & prayers on both sides the fight continued furious and sharpe, and doubtfull a long time to which part the victory would incline: til at the last the Admiral of the Gallies of Sicilie began to warpe from the fight, and to holde up her side for feare of sinking, and after her went also two others in like case, whom al the sort of them inclosed, labouring by all their meanes to keepe them above water, being ready by the force of English shot which they had received to perish in the seas: & what slaughter was done among the Spaniards themselves, the English were uncertaine, but by a probable conjecture apparant afar off, they supposed their losse was so great, that they wanted men to continue the charging of their pieces: whereupon with shame and dishonor, after 5. houres spent in the battel, they withdrew themselves: and the English contented in respect

of their deepe lading, rather to continue their voyage then to follow the chase, ceased from further blowes, with the losse onely of two men slaine amongst them all, and another hurt in his arme, whom M. Wilkinson with his good words and friendly promises did so comfort, that he nothing esteemed the smart of his wound in respect of the honour of the victory, and the shamefull repulse of the enemy.

Thus with duetiful thanks to the mercy of God for his gracious assistance in that danger, the English ships proceeded in their Navigation, and comming as high as Alger, a port towne upon the coast of Barbary, they fell with it, of purpose to refresh themselves after their wearinesse, and to take in such supply of fresh water & victuals, as they needed: they were no sooner entred into the port, but immediatly the king thereof sent a messenger to the ships to knowe what they were, with which messenger the chiefe master of ech shippe repaired to the king, and acquainted him not onely with the state of their ships, in respect of marchandize, but with the late fight which they had passed with the Spanish Gallies, reporting every particular circumstance in word as it fell out in action: whereof the said king shewed himselfe marveilous glad, interteining them in the best sort, and promising abundant reliefe of all their wants, making generall proclamation in the city upon paine of death, that no man of what degree or state soever he were, should presume either to hinder them in their affaires, or to offer them any maner of injury in body or goods. By vertue whereof they dispatched al things in excellent good sort, with al favor & peaceablenesse: only such prisoners and captives of the Spaniards as were in the Citie, seeing the good usage which they received, and hearing also what service they had performed against the foresaide Gallies, grudged exceedingly against them, and sought as much as they could to practise some mischief against them: and one amongst the rest seeing an Englishman alone in a certaine lane of the Citie, came upon him suddenly, and with his knife thrust him in the side, yet made no such great wound, but that it was easily recovered. The English company hearing of it, acquainted the king with the fact, who immediatly sent both for the party that had received the wound, and the offender also, and caused an executioner in the presence

of himselfe and the English, to chastise the slave even to death, which was performed to the ende that no man should presume to commit the like part, or to doe any thing in contempt of his royal commandement.

The English having received this good justice at the kings hands, and al other things that they wanted, or could crave for the furnishing of their shippes, tooke their leave of him, and of the rest of their friendes, that were resident in Alger, and put out to Sea, looking to meete with the second army of the Spanish king, which waited for them about the mouth of the Straights of Gibraltar, which they were of necessitie to passe. But comming neere to the said Streight, it pleased God to raise at that instant a very darke and mistie fogge, so that one ship could not discerne another, if it were 40. paces off: by meanes whereof, together with the notable faire Easterne winds that then blewe most fit for their course, they passed with great speed through the Streight, and might have passed with that good gale, had there bene 500. Gallies to withstand them, and the aire never so cleare for every ship to be seene. But yet the Spanish Gallies had a sight of them when they were come within 3. English miles of the towne, and made after them in all possible haste, and although they saw that they were farre out of their reach, yet in a vaine fury and foolish pride, they shot off their Ordinance, and made a stirre in the Sea as if they had bene in the midst of them, which vanitie of theirs ministred to our men notable matter of pleasure and mirth, seeing men to fight with shadowes, and to take so great paines to so small purpose.

But thus it pleased God to deride, and delude all the forces of that proud Spanish king, which he had provided of purpose to distresse the English, who notwithstanding passed through both his Armies, in the one, little hurt, and in the other nothing touched, to the glory of his immortall Name, the honour of our Prince and Countrey, and the just commendation of ech mans service performed in that voyage.

The returne of Master William Harborne from  
Constantinople over land to London, 1588.

I DEPARTED from Constantinople with 30. persons of my suit and family the 3. of August. Passing through



the Countries of Thracia, now called Romania the great, Valachia & Moldavia, where ariving the 5. of September I was according to the Grand Signior his commandement very courteously interteined by Peter his positive prince, a Greeke by profession, with whom was concluded that her Majesties subjects there trafiquing should pay but three upon the hundreth, which as well his owne Subjects as all other nations answer : whose letters to her Majestie be extant. Whence I proceeded into Poland, where the high Chanceler sent for mee the 27. of the same moneth. And after most honorable intertainment imparted with me in secret maner the late passed and present occurrents of that kingdome, & also he writ to her Majestie.

Thence I hasted unto Elbing, where the 12. of October I was most friendly welcomed by the Senate of that City, whom I finde and judge to be faithfully devoted to her Majesties service, whose letters likewise unto the same were presented me. No lesse at Dantzick the 27. of that moneth I was courteously received by one of the Burrough-masters accompanied with two others of the Senate, & a Civil doctor their Secretarie. After going through the land of Pomer I rested one day at Stetin, where, for that ye duke was absent, nothing ensued. At Rostoke I passed through the Citie without any stay, and at Wismar received like friendly greeting as in the other places : but at Lubeck, for that I came late and departed early in the morning, I was not visited. At Hamburg the 19. of November, and at Stoad the ninth of December in like maner I was saluted by a Borroughmaster and the Secretarie, and in all these places they presented mee sundry sorts of their best wine and fresh fish, every of them with a long discourse, congratulating, in the names of their whole Senate, her Majesties victory over the Spaniard, and my safe returne, concluding with offer of their ready service to her future disposing. Yet the Dantzicks after my departure thence caused the Marchants to pay custome for the goods they brought with them in my company, which none other towne neither Infidels nor Christians on ye way ever demanded. And notwithstanding the premisses, I was most certainly informed of sundry of our nation there resident that most of the Hanse-towns upon the sea coasts, especially Dantzick, Lubeck, and Hamborough have laden and were shipping for Spaine, great provision of corne, cables, ropes,

powder, saltpeter, hargubusses, armour, iron, leade, copper, and all other munition serving for the warre. Whereupon I gather their fained courtesie proceeded rather for feare then of any good affection unto her Majesties service, Elbing and Stoad onely excepted, which of duetie for their commoditie I esteemed well affected.

The privilege of Peter the Prince of Moldavia graunted to the English Marchants.

PETER by the grace of God prince of Valachia and Moldavia; we signifie by these presents to all and singular persons, whom it doth or shall concerne, that we have made this agreement with the worthy gentleman William Hareborne Ambassador of the right high and mighty prince, the Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, with the most puissant and mightie Emperour of the Turkes: To witte, that from hencefoorth it shalbe lawfull for her highnesse subjects and all her Marchants, to remaine, converse, buy, sel, bargaine and exercise all such things, as the trade of marchandise, and humane societie and use requireth, without any hinderance or let: the right of our Custome alwayes reserved; That is, that they pay three ducats upon all such things as amount to the price of one hundred ducats. Which by this our ordinance we command to be surely and firmly observed; For the more assured testimony whereof, our seale is hereunto annexed. Given in our Campe the 27. of the moneth of August in the yeere of our Lord 1588.

The second letters Patents graunted by the Queenes Majestie to the Right worshipfull companie of the English Marchants for the Levant, the seventh of Januarie 1592.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Irelande, defender of the faith &c. To all our Officers, ministers and subjects, and to all other people aswell within this our Realme of England, as else where under our obeysance and jurisdiction or otherwise unto whom these our letters shalbe seene, shewed, or read, greeting.

Where our welbeloved subjects Edward Osborne knight Alderman of our citie of London, William Hareborne

Esquire, and Richard Staper of our saide citie Marchant, have by great adventure and industrie with their great cost and charges by the space of sundry late yeeres travelled, and caused travell to be taken aswell by secrete and good meanes, as by daungerous wayes and passages both by lande and sea to finde out and set open a trade of marchandize and traffike into the landes, Ilandes, Dominions, and territories of the great Turke, commonly called the Grand Signor, not before that time in the memorie of any man now living knowen to be commonly used and frequented by way of marchandize by any the marchantes or other subjectes of us or our progenitors: And also have by their like good meanes and industrie and great charges procured of the sayde Grand Signor in our name, amitie, safetie and freedome for trade and traffike of marchandize to be used and continued by our subjects within his sayd dominions, whereby we perceive and finde that both many good actions have beene done and performed, and hereafter are likely continually to be done and performed for the peace of Christendome: Namely by the reliefe and discharge of many Christians which have beene, and which hereafter may happen to be in thraldome and bondage under the sayde Grand Signor and his vassals or subjects. And also good and profitable vent and utterance of the commodities of our Realme, and sundrie other great benefites to the advancement of our honour and dignitie Royall, the maintenance of our Navie, the encrease of our customes, and the revenues of our Crowne, and generally the great wealth of our whole Realme.

And whereas we are enformed of the sayd Edward Osborne knight, William Hareborne, and Richard Staper, that George Barne, Richard Martine, John Harte knights, and other marchants of our sayd Citie of London have by the space of eight or nine yeeres past joyned themselves in companie, trade and traffike with them the sayd Edward Osborne knight, William Hareborne and Richard Staper, into the sayde dominions of the sayd great Turke, to the furtherance thereof and the good of the Realme.

And whereas further it is made knowen unto us, that within fewe yeeres now past our loving and good subjects Thomas Cordall, Edward Holmeden, William Garraway and Paul Banning, and sundry other marchants of our said Citie of London, have likewise at their great costes

and charges, builded and furnished diverse good and serviceable shippes and therewith to their like costs and charges have traded and frequented, and from time to time doe trade and frequent and traffike by sea with the commodities of our Realme to Venice, Zante, Candie, and Zephalonia and other the dominions of the Segniorie and State of Venice, and thereby have made and mainteyned, and doe make and continually maintaine divers good shippes with mariners skilfull and fitte and necessarie for our service : and doe vent out of our Realme into those partes diverse commodities of our Realme, and returne hither into our sayde Realme many good and necessarie commodities for the common wealth thereof : All which traffike, as well inward as outward untill it hath beene otherwise brought to passe by the sayde endeavours, costs, and charges of our sayde subjects, was in effect by our subjectes wholly discontinued.

Knowe yee, that hereupon we greatly tendring the wealth of our people and the encouragement of them and other our loving subjects in their good enterprises for the advancement of lawfull traffike to the benefite of our common wealth, have of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion given and graunted, and by these presents for us, our heyres, and successours, doe give and graunt unto our sayd trustie and welbeloved subjectes Edwarde Osborne Knight, George Barne Knight, George Bonde knight, Richard Martine knight, John Harte knight, John Hawkins knight, William Massam, John Spencer, Richard Saltonstall, Nicholas Mosley Aldermen of our sayde Citie of London, William Hareborne, Edwarde Barton, William Borrough Esquires, Richard Staper, Thomas Cordall, Henrie Parvis, Thomas Laurence, Edwarde Holmeden, William Garraway, Robert Dowe, Paul Banning, Roger Clarke, Henrie Anderson, Robert Offley, Philip Grimes, Andrewe Banning, James Staper, Robert Sadler, Leonarde Power, George Salter, Nicholas Leate, John Eldred, William Shales, Richard May, William Wilkes, Andrewe Fones, Arthur Jackson, Edmund Ansell, Ralph Ashley, Thomas Farrington, Roberte Sandie, Thomas Garraway, Edwarde Lethlande, Thomas Dalkins, Thomas Norden, Robert Bate, Edward Sadler, Richard Darsall, Richard Martine Junior, Ralph Fitch, Nicholas Pearde, Thomas Simons, and Francis Dorrington, that they and every of them by the name

of Governour and company of Marchants of the Levant shall from hence forth for the terme of twelve yeeres next ensuing the date hereof bee one bodie, fellowshippe and companie of themselves both in deede and in name : And them by the name of Governour and companie of marchantes of the Levant wee doe ordayne, incorporate, name, and declare by these presentes, and that the same fellowshippe and companie from hence forth shall and may have one Governour. And in consideration that the sayde Edwarde Osborne Knight hath beene of the chiefe setters forth and actors in the opening and putting in practise of the sayde trade to the dominions of the sayde Grand Signor : Wee doe therefore specially make, ordaine, and constitute the sayde Edwarde Osborne Knight, to bee nowe Governour during the time of one whole yeere nowe next following, if hee so long shall live : and after the expiration of the sayde yeere, or decease of the sayde Edward Osborne the choyse of the next Governour, and so of every Governour from time to time during the sayde terme of twelve yeeres to be at the election of the sayde fellowshippe or companie of marchantes of the Levant or the more part of them yeerely to be chosen, and that they the sayde Sir Edwarde Osborne, and all the residue of the sayde fellowshippe or companie of Marchantes of the Levant and everie of them, and all the sonnes of them and of every of them, and all such their apprentices and servants of them and of every of them, which have beene or hereafter shall be imployed in the sayde trade by the space of foure yeeres or upwardes by themselves, their servantes, factors or deputies, shall and may by the space of twelve yeeres from the day of the date of these our letters Patents freely traffike, and use the trade of Marchandize as well by sea as by lande into and from the dominions of the sayde Grand Signor, and into and from Venice, Zante, Candie and Zephalonia, and other the dominions of the Signiorie and State of Venice, and also by lande through the Countries of the sayde Grand Signor into and from the East India, lately discovered by John Newberie, Ralph Fitch, William Leech, and James Storie, sent with our letters to that purpose at the proper costs and charge of the sayde Marchants or some of them : and into and from everie of them in such order, manner, forme, libertie and condition to all intentes and purposes as shall be betweene them of the



sayde fellowshippe or companie of Marchantes of the Levant or the more part of them for the time being limited and agreed, and not otherwise, without any molestation, impeachment, or disturbance; any lawe, statute, usage, or diversitie of Religion or faith, or any other cause or matter whatsoever to the contrarie notwithstanding.

And that the sayde Governour and companie of Marchantes of the Levant, or the greater part of them for the better governement of the sayde fellowshippe and companie, shall and may within fortie dayes next and immediatly following after the date heereof, and so from thence foorth yeerely during the continuance of this our graunt, assemble themselves in some convenient place, and that they or the greater parte of them being so assembled, shall and may elect, ordaine, nominate, and appoint twelve discreete and honest persons of the sayde companie to be assistants to the sayde Governour, and to continue in the sayde office of assistants, untill they shall die or bee remooved by the sayde Governour and companie or the greater part of them. And if it happen the sayde assistants or any of them to die, or be remooved from their sayde office at anie time during the continuance of this our graunt: that then and so often it shall and may bee lawfull to and for the sayde Governour and companie of marchantes of the Levant, or the greater part of them to elect and chuse one or more other persons of the sayd companie into the place or places of every such person or persons so dying or happening to be remooved, as is aforesayde. And wee will and ordaine that the same person or persons so as is aforesayde to be elected shall be of the sayd number of assistants of the sayde companie. And this to be done so often as the case shall so require. And that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the sayde Edwarde Osborne Knight, George Barne Knight, George Bonde knight, Richard Martine knight, John Hart knight, John Hawkins knight, William Massam, John Spencer, Richard Saltonstall, Nicholas Mosley, William Hareborne, Edwarde Barton, William Borrough, Richard Staper, Thomas Cordall, Henrie Parvis, Thomas Laurence, Edwarde Holmeden, William Garraway, Robert Dowe, Paul Banning, Roger Clarke, Henrie Anderson, Robert Offley, Philip Grimes, Andrewe Banning, James Staper, Robert Sadler, Leonarde

Power, George Salter, Nicholas Leate, John Eldred, William Shales, Richard May, William Wilkes, Andrew Fones, Arthur Jackson, Edmund Ansell, Ralph Ashley, Thomas Farrington, Roberte Sandie, Thomas Garraway, Edward Lethlande, Thomas Dalkins, Thomas Norden, Robert Bate, Edward Sadler, Richard Darsall, Richard Martine Junior, Ralph Fitch, Nicholas Pearde, Thomas Simons, and Francis Dorrington aforesayde, or any of them to assemble themselves for or about any the matters, causes or affaires or businesses of the sayde trade in any place or places for the same convenient from time to time during the sayde terme of twelve yeeres within our dominions or else where. And that also it shall and may bee lawfull for them or the more part of them to make, ordaine and constitute reasonable lawes and orders for the good government of the sayde companie, and for the better advancement and continuance of the sayde trade and traffike: the same lawes and ordinances not being contrarie or repugnant to the lawes, statutes or customes of our Realme: And the same lawes and ordinances so made to put in ure, and execute accordingly, and at their pleasures to revoke and alter the same lawes and ordinances or any of them as occasion shall require.

And we doe also for us, our heyres and successors of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion graunt to and with the sayd Governour and companie of marchantes of the Levant, that when and as often at any time during the sayde terme and space of twelve yeeres as any custome, pondage, subsidie or other duetie shall be due and payable unto us, our heires, or successors for any goods or marchandize whatsoever, to be carried or transported out of this our port of London into any the dominions aforesayde, or out of or from any the sayde dominions unto our sayde port of London, that our Customers, and all other our Officers for receites of custome, pondage, subsidie or other duetie unto whom it shall appertaine, shall upon the request of the sayde Governour for the time being, give unto the sayde companie three monethes time for the payment of the one halfe, and other three monethes for the payment of the other halfe of their sayde custome, pondage, or other subsidie or duetie for the same, receiving good and sufficient bonde and securitie to our use for the payment of the same accordingly. And upon receipt of the sayde

bonde to give them out their cockets or other warrants to lade out and receive in the same their goods by vertue hereof without any disturbance. And that also as often as at any time during the sayde terme of twelve yeeres any goods or marchandize of any of the sayde companie laden from this our port of London in any the dominions before sayde shall happen to miscarie before their safe discharge in the partes for and to the which they be sent : That then and so often so much custome, pondage, and other subsidie as they answered us for the same, shall after due prooffe made before the Treasurour of England for the time being of the sayde losse, and the just quantitie thereof, be by the vertue hereof allowed unto them, by warrant of the sayde Treasurour to the sayde Customers in the next marchandize that they shall or may shippe for those partes, according to the true rates of the customes, pondage, or subsidies heretofore payde for the goods so lost or any part or parcell thereof.

And for that the sayde companie are like continually to bring into this our Realme a much greater quantitie of forren commodities from the forren Countreyes, places, or territories aforesaide, then here can be spent for the necessarie use of the same, which of necessitie must be transported into other countreyes, and there vented, we for us, our heires and successors of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion doe graunt to and with the sayd Governour and companie that at all times from time to time during the space of thirteene moneths next after the discharge of any the sayde goods so brought in, and the subsidies, pondage, customes and other duties for the same being before hande payde or compounded for as aforesayd, it shall be lawfull for them or any of them or any other person or persons whatsoever being naturall subjects of the Realme which may or shall buy the same of them or any of them to transport the same in English bottomes freely out of this Realme without payment of any further custome, pondage, or other subsidie to us, our heires or successors for the same, whereof the sayde subsidies, pondage, or customes or other duties shall be so formerly payde and compounded for, as aforesayd, and so proved. And the sayd customer by vertue hereof shall upon due and sufficient prooffe thereof made in the custome house give them sufficient cocket or certificate for the safe passing out thereof accordingly.



A TURKISH LADY

*By Gentile Bellini,  
from the Print Room  
of the British Museum*





And to the ende no deceit be used herein to us our heires, and successors, certificate shall be brought from our collector of custome inwards to our customer outwards that the sayd marchandizes have within the time limited answered their due custome, subsidie, pondage and other duties for the same inwards.

And furthermore we of our ample and abundant grace, meere motion, and certaine knowledge have graunted, and by these presents for us our heyres and successours doe graunt unto the said Governours and companie of marchantes of the Levant, that they and such onely as be and shall be of that companie, shall for the sayd terme of twelve yeeres have, use, and enjoy the whole and onely trade and traffike, and the whole entire and onely libertie, use, and priviledge of trading and trafficking, and using feate of marchandise by and through the Levant seas otherwise called the Mediterran seas into and from the sayd dominions of the Grand Signor, and dominions of the state of Venice; and by and through the sayd Grand Signors dominions to and from such other places in the East Indies discovered as aforesayd. And that they the sayd Governour and companie of marchants of the Levant and every particular and severall person of that companie their and every one of their servants, factors, and deputies shall have full and free authoritie, libertie, facultie, licence, and power to trade and trafficke by and through the sayd Levant seas into and from all and every the sayd dominions of the sayde Grand Signor, and the dominions of the state of Venice, and the sayde Indies, and into and from all places where by occasion of the sayd trade they shall happen to arrive or come, whither they be Christians, Turkes, Gentiles, or others: And by and through the sayd Levant seas into and from all other seas, rivers, portes, regions, territories, dominions, coastes and places with their ships, barkes, pinases and other vessels, and with such mariners and men as they will leade or have with them, or sende for the sayde trade as they shall thinke good at their owne proper costes and expenses.

And for that the shippes sayling into the sayde Countreyes must take their due and proper times to proceede in these voyages, which otherwise as wee well perceive can not be performed in the rest of the yeere following: Therefore we of our speciall grace, certaine

knowledge, and meere motion for us our heyres and successors doe graunt to and with the sayd Governour and companie of Marchantes of the Levant, that foure good shippes well furnished with ordinance and other munition for their defence, and two hundred marriners English men to guide and sayle in the same foure shippes at all times during the sayde twelve yeeres shall quietly bee permitted and suffered to depart and goe in the sayde voyages, according to the purport of these presents, without any stay or contradiction by us, our heyres and successors, or by the Lorde high Admirall or any other officer or subject of us, our heires or successours in any wise: Any restraint, lawe, statute, usage or matter whatsoever to the contrarie notwithstanding.

Provided neverthesse, that if wee shall at any time within the sayde twelve yeeres have just cause to arme our Navie in warrelike manner in defence of our Realme, or for offence of our enemies: and that it shall be founde needefull and convenient for us to joyne to our Navie the shippes of our subjects to be also armed for warres to such number as cannot bee supplied if the sayd foure shippes should be permitted to depart as above is mentioned; then upon knowledge given by us or our Admirall to the sayde Governour or companie about the fifteenth day of the moneth of March, or three monethes before the saide companie shall beginne to make readie the same foure shippes that we may not spare the sayd foure ships and the marriners requisite for them to be out of our Realme during the time that our Navie shall be upon the seas, that then the sayde companie shall forbear to send such foure shippes for their trade of marchandise untill that we shall retake our sayd Navie from the sayd service.

And further our will and pleasure is, and wee doe by these presentes graunt that it shall be lawfull to and for the sayd Governour and companie of Marchantes of the Levant to have and use in and about the affaires of the sayde companie a common seale for matters concerning the sayde companie and trade. And that also it shall be lawfull for the Marchants, Mariners, and Sea-men, which shall be used and employed in the sayde trade and voyage to set and place in the toppes of their ships or other vessels the Armes of England with the redde-crosse in white over the same as heretofore they have used.

And we of our further Royall favour and of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion have graunted and by these presents for us our heyres and successors doe graunt to the sayd Governour and companie of Marchants of the Levant, that the sayde landes, territories, and dominions of the sayde Grand Signor, or the dominions of the Signiorie of Venice, or any of them within the sayde Levant or Mediterran seas shall not be visited, frequented, or haunted by the sayde Levant sea by way of marchandize by any other our subjects during the saide terme of twelve yeeres contrarie to the true meaning of these presentes. And by vertue of our prerogative Royall, which wee will not in that behalfe have argued or brought in question, wee straightly charge, commaunde and prohibite for us, our heyres and successours all our subjects of what degree or qualitie soever they bee, that none of them directly or indirectly doe visite, haunt, frequent, trade, traffike or adventure by way of marchandise into or from any of the sayd dominions of the sayd Grand Signor, or the dominions of the saide Segniorie of Venice, by or through the sayde Levant sea other then the sayd Governour and companie of marchants of the Levant, and such particular persons as be or shall be of that companie, their factors, agents, servants and assignes. And further for that wee plainly understande that the States and Governours of the citie and Segniorie of Venice have of late time set and rayased a newe impost and charge over and besides their auncient impost, custome, and charge of and upon all manner of marchandize of our Realme brought into their dominions, and also of and upon all marchandise caried or laden from their sayd Countrey or dominions by our subjects or in the ships or bottoms of any of our subjectes to the great and intollerable charge and hinderance of our sayd subjects trading thither, wee therefore minding the redresse thereof, doe also by these presents for us, our heires and successors further straightly prohibite and forbid not onely the subjects of the sayde State and Segniorie of Venice, but also of all other Nations or Countries whatsoever other then the sayd Governour and companie of marchants of the Levant, and such onely as be or shall be of that companie, their factors, agents, servantes, and assignes : That they or any of them during the sayde terme of twelve yeeres, shall bring or cause to

be brought into this our Realme of Englande, or any part thereof anie manner of small fruites called corrans, being the raysins of Corinth, or wine of Candie, unlesse it be by and with the licence, consent, and agreement of the sayde Governour and companie in writing under their sayd common seale first had and obteyned upon paine unto every such person and persons that shall trade and traffike into any the sayde dominions of the State and Segniorie of Venice by sea, or that shall bring or cause to be brought into our saide Realme any of the said corrans being the raysins of Corinth, or wines of Candia, other then the sayd companie in paine of our indignation, and of forfeiture and losse aswell of the shippe and ships with the furniture thereof, as also of the goods, marchandize, and thinges whatsoever they be of those which shall attempt or presume to commit or doe any matter or thing contrarie to the prohibition aforesayd. The one halfe of all the saide forfeitures to be to us, our heires and successours, and the other halfe of all and every the sayde forfeitures we doe by these presents, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion clearely and wholie for us, our heires and successors, give and graunt unto the saide Governour and companie of marchantes of the Levant.

And further all and every the sayde offendours for their sayde contempt to suffer imprisonment during our pleasures, and such other punishment as to us for so high a contempt shall seeme meete and convenient, and not to be in any wise delivered untill they and every of them shall be come bounde unto the sayd Governour for the time being in the summe of one thousand poundes or lesse at no time, then after to sayle or traffike by sea into any the dominions aforesaide, or to bring or cause to be brought from any the places aforesayde any corrans, raysins of Corinth, or wines of Candia contrarie to our expresse commaundement in that behalfe herein set downe and published.

Provided alwayes, and our expresse will is notwithstanding the premisses that if our sayde subjectes shall at any time hereafter be recompensed of and for all such newe impostes and charges as they and every of them shall pay, and likewise be freely discharged of and from the payment of all manner of newe imposte or taxe for any of their marchandise which they hereafter shall bring

into or from any the dominions of the sayde State or Segniorie of Venice, and from all bondes and other assurances by them or any of them to be made for or in that behalfe, that then immediatly from and after such recompence and discharge made as aforesayde our sayde prohibition and restraint in these presentes mentioned, shall not be of any strength or force against the sayde Citie or State of Venice, or any the subjects thereof, but for and during such time onely and in such case when hereafter the sayde State of Venice shall againe beginne to taxe or levie any manner of newe imposte within the sayde dominions upon any the goods or marchandizes of our sayde subjectes heereafter to be brought into any the dominions of the said State or Segniorie of Venice. Any thing in these our letters Patents containyed to the contrarie thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

And further wee straightly charge and commaunde, and by these presentes prohibite all and singular Customers and Collectors of our Customes, pondage, and subsidies, and all other Officers within our Porte and Citie of London and else where, to whom it shall appertaine and every of them, That they or any of them by themselves, their clarkes, or substitutes shall not receive or take, or suffer to be received or taken for us or in our name, or to our use, or in the name, or unto the use of our heires or successors of any person or persons, any summe or summes of money, or other consideration during the sayde terme of twelve yeeres for any custome, pondage, taxe or subsidie of any corrants, raysins of Corinth, or wines of Candie aforesayd save onely of and in the name of the sayde Governour and companie of marchantes of the Levant, or of some of that companie without the consent of the sayde Governour and companie in writing under their sayd common seale, first had and obteyned, and unto them shewed for the testifying their sayd consent. And for the better and more sure observation thereof wee will and graunt for us, our heires or successors by these presentes, that our Treasurour and Barons of the Exchequer for the time being by force of these presentes, and the inrollment thereof in the sayde Court of our Exchequour, at all and every time and times during the sayde terme of twelve yeeres, at and upon the request of the sayde Governour and companie, their Attourney or Attourneys, Deputies or assignes, shall and may make and direct



under the seale of the sayde Court one or more sufficient writte or writtes close or patent, unto every or any of the sayd Customers or other Officers to whom it shall appertain, commaunding them and every of them thereby, that neither they nor any of them at any time or times during the sayd space of twelve yeeres shall take entrie of any corants, raisins of Corinth, or wines of Candia, or take or make any agreement for any custome, pondage, or other subsidie for any of the sayd corants, raisins of Corinth, or wines of Candie, with any person or persons whatsoever, other then with, or in the name and by the privitie of the sayd governour and company or some of the same company.

And further of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion we have condescended and graunted, and by these presents for us our heires and successours doe condescend and graunt to the sayd Governour and company of marchants of Levant, that wee our heires and successours, during the sayd terme, will not graunt libertie, licence, or power to any person or persons whatsoever, contrary to the tenour of these our letters patents, to saile, passe, trade, or traffique by the sayde Levant Sea, into, or from the sayde dominions of the sayd Grand Signior or the dominions of the State of Venice or any of them, contrary to the true meaning of these presents, without the consent of the sayd Governour and Companie or the most part of them.

And whereas Henry Farrington and Henry Hewet have not yet assented to bee incorporated into the sayd societie of Governour and companie of marchants of Levant, neverthesse sithence, as we be informed, they have bene traders that way heretofore; our will and pleasure is, and we doe hereby expressely commaund and charge that if it happen at any time within two moneths next following after the date hereof, the sayd Henry Farrington and Henry Hewet or either of them, to submit themselves to be of the sayd companie, and doe give such assurance as the sayd Governour and companie, or the more part of them shall allow of, to beare, pay, and performe such orders, constitutions, paiments and contributions, as other of the sayd company shall be ordered to beare, pay, and performe, that then every of the sayd Henry Farrington and Henry Hewet so doing and submitting himselfe, shall upon his or their request unto the

sayd Governour bee admitted into the sayd companie and corporation of Governour and companie of marchants of Levant, and have and enjoy the same, and as great liberties, privileges, and preheminencies, as the rest of the sayde corporation or companie may, or ought to have by vertue of this our graunt. Any thing in these presents contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

And our will and pleasure is, and hereby wee doe also ordaine that it shall and may bee lawfull, to, and for the sayde Governour and company of marchants of Levant or the more part of them, to admit into, and to be of the sayd companie, any such as have bene or shall bee employed as servants, factors, or agents in the trade of marchandise by the sayd Levant seas, into any the countries, dominions or territories of the sayd Grand Signior or Signiorie or State of Venice, according as they or the most part of them shall thinke requisite.

And where Anthony Ratcliffe, Steven Some, and Robert Brooke Aldermen of the saide Citie of London, Simon Laurence, John Wattes, John Newton, Thomas Middleton, Robert Coxe, John Blunt, Charles Faith, Thomas Barnes, Alexander Dansey, Richard Aldworth, Henry Cowlthirste, Cæsar Doffie, Martine Bonde, Oliver Stile and Nicolas Stile Marchants of London for their abilities and sufficiencies have bene thought fit to be also of the sayd Company of the saide governour and Company of Marchants of Levant: Our will and pleasure and expresse commaundement is, and wee doe hereby establish and ordeine, that every such of the same Anthony Radcliffe, Steven Some, Robert Brooke, Simon Laurence, John Wattes, John Newton, Thomas Midleton, Robert Coxe, John Blunt, Charles Faith, Thomas Barnes, Alexander Dansey, Richard Aldworth, Henry Cowlthirst, Cæsar Doffie, Martine Bonde, Oliver Style, and Nicolas Style, as shall pay unto the saide Governour and company of Marchants of Levante the summe of one hundred and thirtie poundes of lawfull English money within two monethes next after the date hereof towards the charges that the same Company have already bene at in and about the establishing of the sayde trades shall from thencefoorth bee of the same company of Marchants of Levant as fully and amply and in like maner, as any other of that societie or Company.

Provided also, that wee our heires and successours at

any time during the sayd twelve yeeres may lawfully appoynt and authorize two other persons exercising the lawfull trade of marchandize, and being fit men to bee of the sayd companie of Governour and companie of marchants of Levant, so that the sayd persons to bee nominated or authorized, shall aide, doe, beare, and paie such payments and charges touching and concerning the same trade and Companie of marchants of Levant, ratable as other of the sayd Companie of marchants of Levant shall, and doe, or ought to beare and pay : and doe also performe and observe the orders of the sayd Companie allowable by this our graunt, as others of the same doe or ought to doe. And that such two persons so to bee appoynted by us our heires or successours, shall and may with the sayd Company use the trade and feate of marchandise aforesayd, and all the liberties and privileges herein before granted, according to the meaning of these our letters patents, any thing in these our letters patents contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided also, that if any of the marchants before by these presents named or incorporated, to bee of the sayd fellowship of Governour and companie of the merchants of Levant, shall not bee willing to continue or bee of the same companie, and doe give notice thereof, or make the same knowne to the sayd Governour within two moneths next after the date hereof, that then such person so giving notice, shall no further or any longer be of that companie, or have trade into those parties, nor be at any time after that of the same corporation or companie, or use trade into any the territories or countries aforesayd.

Provided alwayes neverthesse, that every such person so giving notice and having at this present any goods or marchandises in any the Territories or countreys of the sayd Grand Signior, or Segniorie or State of Venice, may at any time within the space of eightene moneths next, and immediately following after the date hereof, have free libertie, power, and authoritie to returne the same or the value thereof into this Realme, without using any traffique there, but immediately from thence hither, paying, bearing, answering, and performing all such charges, dueties and summes of money ratable as other of the same corporation or company doe or shall pay, beare, answer, or performe for the like.

Provided also, that if any of the persons before by these presents named or incorporated to bee of the sayd fellowship of Governour and Companie of the marchants of Levant, or which hereafter shall bee admitted to bee of the sayde Corporation or Companie, shall at any time or times hereafter refuse to bee of the sayd Corporation or Companie, or to beare, pay, or be contributorie to, or not beare and pay such ratable charges and allowances, or to observe or performe such ordinances to bee made as is aforesayd, as other of the same company are, or shall bee ordered, to beare, paie, or performe, that then it shall and may bee lawfull for the rest of the sayd Governour and companie of marchants of Levant, presently to expell, remoove, and displace every such person so refusing, or not bearing or paying out, of, and from the sayd Corporation and companie, and from all privilege, libertie, and preheminance which any such person should, or might claime, or have by vertue of this our graunt, and in place of them to elect others exercising the lawfull trade of marchandise to bee of the sayd Companie. And that every such person so expelled, remooved, or displaced by consent of the sayd Governour and companie of marchants of Levant, or the more part of them, shall bee from thencefoorth utterly disabled to take any benefite by vertue of this privilege, or any time after to bee admitted or received againe into the same, any thing in these presents contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided alwayes, that if it shall hereafter appeare to us our heires and successours, that this graunt or the continuance thereof in the whole or in any part thereof, shall not bee profitable to us our heires and successours, or to this our realme, that then and from thencefoorth, upon and after eighteene moneths warning to bee given to the sayd companie by us our heires and successours, this present graunt shall cease, bee voyd, and determined to all intents, constructions and purposes.

And further of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, wee have condescended and graunted, and by these presents for us, our heires and successours, doe condescend and graunt to the sayde Governour and companie of marchants of Levant, that if at the ende of the sayd terme of twelve yeeres it shall seeme meete and convenient to the sayde Governour and Companie,

or any the parties aforesayd, that this present graunt shall bee continued: And if that also it shall appeare unto us, our heires and successours, that the continuance thereof shall not bee prejudiciall or hurtfull to this our realme, but that wee shall finde the further continuance thereof profitable for us our heires and successours and for our realme with such conditions as are herein mentioned, or with some alteration or qualification thereof, that then wee our heires and successours at the instance and humble petition of the sayde Governour and Companie, or any of them so suing for the same, and such other person and persons our subjectes as they shall nominate and appoint, or shall bee by us, our heires and successours newly nominated, not exceeding in number twelve, new letters patents under the great seale of England in due forme of lawe with like covenants, graunts, clauses, and articles, as in these presents are contained, or with addition of other necessarie articles or changing of these in some partes, for, and during the full terme of twelve yeeres then next following. Willing now hereby, and straightly commaunding, and charging all and singular our Admirals, Vice-admirals, Justices, Maiors, Shiriffes, Escheators, Constables, Bailiffes, and all and singular other our Officers, Ministers, Liegemen and subjects whatsoever, to bee aiding, favouring, helping, and assisting unto the sayd Companie and their successours, and to their Deputies, Officers, Factors, servaunts, assignes and ministers, and every of them, in executing and enjoying the premisses as well on land as on Sea, from time to time, & at all times when you or any of you shal thereto bee required, any Statute, Acte, ordinance, Proviso, Proclamation or restraint heretofore had, made, set forth, ordained or provided, or any other matter, cause or thing whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Although expresse mention of the true yeerely value or certaintie of the premisses, or any of them, or of any other gifts or graunts by us, or any of our progenitours to the sayde Governour and Companie of the marchants of Levant before this time made, in these presents is not made: Or any Statute, Acte, Ordinance, provision, proclamation or restraint to the contrary thereof before this time had, made, done, or provided, or any other matter, thing or cause whatsoever, in any wise notwithstanding.



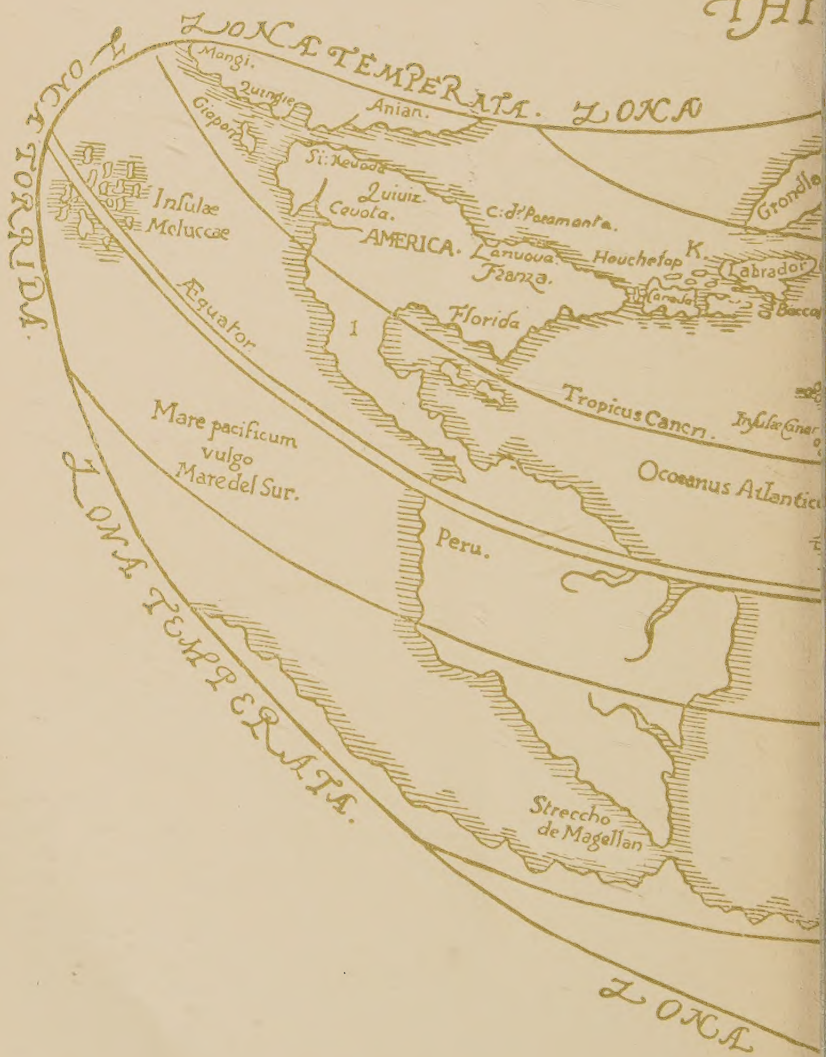
In witnesse whereof wee have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster the seventh day of Januarie in the foure and thirtieth yeere of our raigne.

Per breve de privato Sigillo.  
Bailie.





# AGENERAL MAP PARTICVLAR THI



# MADE ON ELYE FOR THE DECLARATION OF DISCOVERY.





